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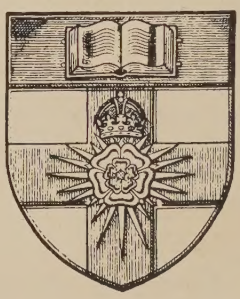

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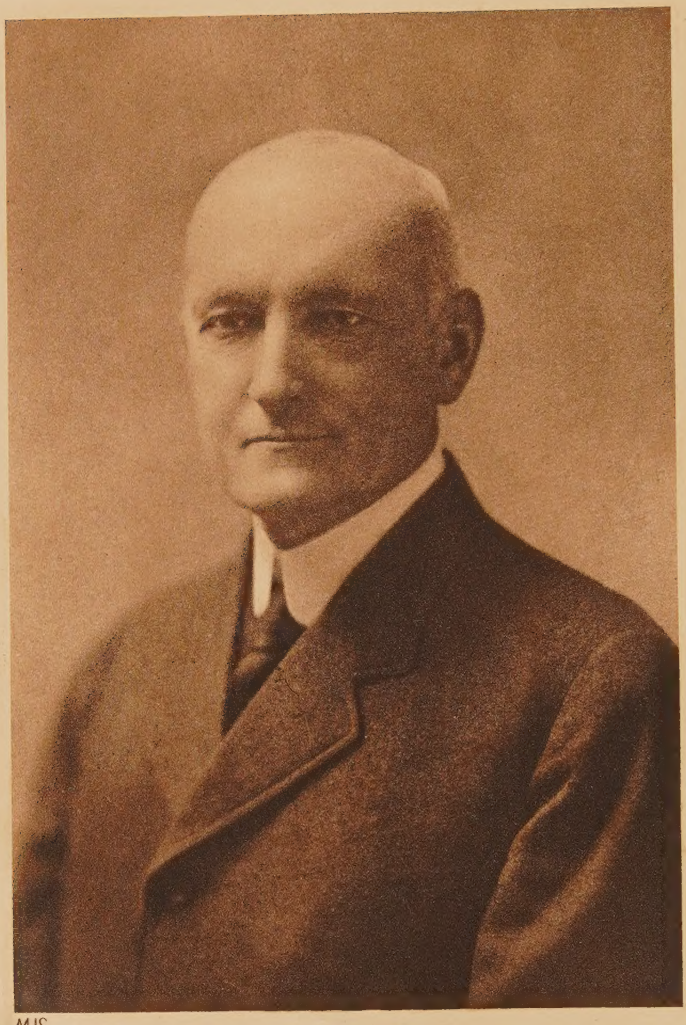

J. W. Lucas

Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

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1896, Granville Stanley Hall . . . . . April 24, 1924.
1903, Edward Stanwood . . . . . Oct. 11, 1923.
1910, Samuel Walker McCall . . . . . Nov. 4, 1923.
1920, Edward Gray . . . . . Oct. 14, 1923.

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1897, Woodrow Wilson . . . . . Feb. 3, 1924.
1903, Arthur Blake Ellis . . . . . Dec. 25, 1923.
1903, Auguste Moireau . . . . . Dec. 24, 1919.

TRANSFER.

Corresponding.

1907, Jean Jules Jusserand[1] . . . . . Nov. 8, 1923.

[1] By transfer to Honorary roll.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1923.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P.M.; the President, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The President announced that he had just received word of the death of our associate Mr. Stanwood, Recording Secretary, and Mr. Tuttle acted as Recording Secretary, *pro tempore*. The record of the June meeting was approved without being read.

The President announced the appointment by the Council, in accordance with the By-Laws, of Roger Bigelow Merriman as Corresponding Secretary until the next Annual Meeting.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, additions to the Kingsmill Marrs Collection, including notes left by the late Mr. Marrs on the Fitz-Stephens families and Kingsmill and connections of England.

From Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, of Washington, D. C., papers of William Everett, 1858–1910.

From Charles S. French, of Wellesley, the diary of Charles E. French, of Boston, 1835 to 1903, in nineteen volumes.

From Charles E. Goodspeed, the votes of February 21, and March 8, 1804, to ordain Rev. Daniel Loring as Minister of the Church of Christ in Foxboro.

From Miss Edith Tracy Crehore, Crehore papers, 1717–1791.

From Walter Gilman Page, Page family papers, 1804 to 1923.

From Charles H. Fowle, of Williamstown, some papers relating to the Provident Institution for Savings, 1816–1873.

From James B. Wilbur, of Manchester, Vt., copies of Israel Keith papers, 1760–1803.

From Grenville H. Norcross, a diary of his father, Otis Norcross, 1859 to July, 1882.

By purchase, a number of Massachusetts tax warrants on the towns of Middleton, Reading and Topsfield, Mass., 1722–1783; Francis Peabody papers of Middleton, 1735–1794; Towne papers relating to Topsfield, Mass., 1742–1855; account book of Nathaniel Bragg of Wrentham, 1741–1784; account book of John Pearl, Jr., and Mehitable, 1792–1825, of Boxford, and George Pearl, 1826–1845; several Groton deeds and plans, 1713–1818; also a large collection of papers relating to Northampton, Mass., 1721–1895, important for the period of the Revolution and for the many papers in the writing of Joseph Hawley.

By deposit, from Mrs. Helen Richards (Healy) French, letters of Daniel Webster to John P. Healy, her grandfather, 1818–1886.

By deposit, from Richard Henry Dana, a large collection of Dana family papers.

By deposit, from Mrs. John Torrey Linzee, of letters of Lord Hood, 1771, 1772, of Lord Hood and the Earl of Sandwich to Capt. John Linzee, 1788–1789, of Capt. John Linzee, 1788, of Samuel Hood Linzee, 1794 to 1818, and a diary of Mrs. Nancy Linzee, 1808–1810.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Frank W. Bayley, a framed photograph of a drawing made by John Singer Sargent in 1920, of William Roscoe Thayer.

From Arthur P. Rugg, a photostat copy of a woodcut of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw which appeared in *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* for September 13, 1851.

From William V. Kellen, the eleventh medal of the Circle of Friends of the Medallion for 1914 struck in memory of Joan of Arc, designed by Allen G. Newman; and the twelfth medal, 1915, struck in honor of *New Netherland,* the good ship which brought the first substantial reinforcement of settlers to that colony in 1623, designed by Paul Manship.

From Grenville H. Norcross, views in Mount Auburn Cemetery, 1884; and 230 coins.

From Henry Cabot Lodge, engravings of Oliver Cromwell, Alexander Pope, Homer, Chaucer, and Sir Francis Bacon.

From Samuel F. Batchelder, a blue print of the measured architect's plan of the organ loft in Christ Church, Cambridge, designed by Peter Harrison in 1759, and built in 1761 by Samuel May, of Boston.

From Dr. J. Collins Warren, a bronze relief of Martin Brimmer, and a Lincoln-Johnson envelope, and several pieces of fractional currency.

From Horace L. Wheeler, the medal of the golden anniversary of St. Joseph's Total Abstinence Society of Boston.

From Charles A. Brown, of Lowell, an engraving, colored, of "The Countess of D–h–ff," and "Nauticus."

From Malcolm Storer, ten medals.

From the Bostonian Society, a small engraved portrait of Thomas Hollis, published by J. Sewell.

From Delano Wight, a photograph of L. Q. C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior in President Cleveland's Cabinet, and eleven other photographs.

The President announced the appointment of the following delegates to the Parkman Centenary at Montreal on November 13, 1923: The French Ambassador, M. Jusserand, Prof. Bliss Perry, Arthur Lord, William V. Kellen, Dr. Charles L. Nichols, James B. Wilbur, and Prof. George M. Wrong.

Charles William Eliot.

The President then said:

The Massachusetts Historical Society is indeed fortunate in having the opportunity and the rare privilege of celebrating within a year the fiftieth anniversary of the election to membership of two of our distinguished associates. Last January we had the pleasure of commemorating the attainment by Mr. Warren of fifty years of membership and today we have the happiness to be able to repeat this most agreeable ceremony in honor of President Eliot. To him we offer our most heartfelt good wishes together with every hope for many years of health and strength, abundant in the continued service of which he has already rendered so much to his time, his country and his fellowmen. We one and all congratulate ourselves that we have the honor and happiness conferred upon us by his presence here today.

The Massachusetts Historical Society, tried by the American standard, is a very old Society, which in its career, now well advanced into its second century, has we like to think rendered substantial service to the study of history and to

the dignified and delightful pursuits of literature. With complete assurance we are warranted in saying that upon its roll are the names of many eminent men who by their writings and their labors in various fields have become themselves a part of American history, the especial subject to which the efforts and energies of this Society have been more peculiarly directed. Among these eminent members, past and present, in whose achievements we feel a just pride, one of the most highly distinguished is President Eliot.

I entered Harvard College when Dr. Hill was President and in my sophomore year Dr. Peabody was the Acting President. In 1869, in the middle of my course, came President Eliot, so it befell that I was placed just at the parting of the ways when the old system went out and the new one took its place. Therefore the whole of President Eliot's remarkable career has passed before my eyes and I have seen his policies of administration and government carried through and established; I have seen his incalcuable influence on education in the United States — indeed in the Western world — grow and spread, ever waxing more powerful, until it was recognized in Europe as fully as in America. He can hardly say with Augustus that he found Rome brick and left it marble but he can say that he found a college and left it a great university with years of still further development, expansion and power stretching away into a future where no bounds are yet visible.

I would not have anyone think that I underrate the college as it was when I entered, for honor, reverence and admiration belong in the highest sense to those who founded and built up the college on the edge of the wilderness. It was a great work which they wrought and it found its finest expression in the fact that it gave the opportunity to President Eliot to lead it forth into wider fields where the college could make ever larger conquests in the noble domain of learning. Surely it may be said that the college became a university in the largest sense in 1869 and during the memorable years of President Eliot's long administration, filled as it was with an ever widening service to the great cause of education. In Harvard University was his life work but it by no means bounded his interests or his activities, which

were widely felt in many directions, in public affairs and public philanthropies and most especially in behalf of every effort which sought to promote the cause of literature and of the fine arts. It would not be within my province as presiding officer of the Society, even if time permitted, to attempt any analysis of President Eliot's work as a great educator of men, or fitly describe his other manifold contacts with the life of his time, in which he has played such a distinguished part. That would demand volumes instead of the limits of a brief address of introduction. Yet I am glad to have warrant and occasion to say the little that I have said. The world is apt to be too chary of giving praise to the living man. There is abundance of perfunctory or defensive or argumentative laudation going hand in hand with unfriendly criticism distorted by the personal equation. Too often there is truth in Johnson's bitter couplet:

> See nations, slowly wise and meanly just,
> To buried merit raise the tardy bust.

It is well, it is a high satisfaction for us who greet him today not to leave all the praise to the funeral oration which we all pray may be long postponed, but to try to express, however inadequately, to the living man the approval, the respect and the affection we feel for him.

I close as I began with expressing to President Eliot, as I know I can on behalf of the Society as well as on my own, our pleasure in his presence and our heartful good wishes, accompanied with the earnest hope that his days may be long in the land and health and happiness may ever attend upon him.

Mr. Eliot, in acknowledging the cordial reception of the Society, said:

Mr. President: — I cannot worthily express the pleasure and satisfaction that your words and this welcome by the Society give me. In all the early part of my career as a teacher and an educational administrator I was much engaged in controversy, not to say combat, and that at home as well as outside of Harvard. In all my public appearances

during those years I had a vivid sense that I was addressing an adverse audience. Now today is a very delightful illustration of a change that has come over my experience. For twenty years past, I should think, I have found myself often in the presence of a favoring audience — of one that wished, at any rate, to agree with me, or, if they could not, regretted that they could not.

This has been a delightful part of the experience of my later years. But I have never listened to a statement of my services to Harvard and the educational world so competent and so complete as that which the Society has just heard. However, there are some errors in it to which I feel obliged to call the attention of the Society.

In the first place, I did not begin the transformation of Harvard from a college to a University. Your president just now mentioned Dr. Thomas Hill, who, under terribly distressing circumstances in his immediate family, was seven years president of Harvard. He was not only a man of first rate scientific quality himself, but he had commended himself strongly to four or five of the leading scientific men then living in the United States, three of them at Cambridge. It was Dr. Hill who instituted the University Lectures, and enlisted in that work a large number of the most distinguished scholars, professors, and scientists, not only at Harvard but in the country. It was Dr. Hill who made welcome to those university lectures not only men but women. It was Dr. Hill who accepted the advice of Louis Agassiz and Benjamin Peirce in the conduct of Harvard College. He not only accepted their advice, he sought it; and they, of course, were eager to give it.

There was another person who began much earlier (1829–1845) than I the conversion of Harvard College into a university. He did not get far with it, because he encountered such intense opposition to the measures he favored. That was Josiah Quincy, a name held in especial honor in this place.

But there is another thing I want to say about the work which your president has so cordially described to you. My work at Cambridge as President of Harvard College was not the work of an individual. It was not at the beginning, and

emphatically it was not at the end. It was the work at the beginning of a group of persons, and I want to mention here some of the members of that group. I could not have accomplished anything like the work I did accomplish during my forty years of service to Harvard if it had not been, at the beginning at any rate, for the work of a group of men, all friends of mine and of each other, all devoting themselves — and that is the right word for it — to the enlargement and upbuilding of Harvard College.

The first person I want to mention in that connection was known to a good many of the members of this Society — known not only for his scholarship in languages, philosophy and history and for his literary gifts, but also for his winning disposition and his powers of persuasion. I refer to Ephraim W. Gurney. Much against his natural wishes Gurney served as Dean of the College Faculty (the first) through six critical years (1870–76).

Another person that soon entered the Harvard Faculty at my solicitation was Charles F. Dunbar, who left a profitable business as proprietor and editor of the *Daily Advertiser* to enter upon professorial functions, and particularly to engage in the work of building up the teaching of economics at Harvard College. I had long been a warm personal friend of Dunbar; and he felt towards me just as I felt towards him. Now the coöperation of Dunbar was absolutely essential to the success of the first twenty years of my labors as President. Like Gurney, he did Dean's work, which he did not like, and for an even longer period (1876–1895).

Another scholar who contributed much to the conversion of Harvard College into a University was William W. Goodwin. He and I did not differ as much as he thought we did about the place of Greek in education; but for the moment and as a practical matter I could not always go with Goodwin in his estimate of the place of Greek in either secondary education or in college education. So we sometimes struck fire, so to speak. But William Goodwin in one of the first years after I became president had the privilege of teaching the Greek language and literature to a group of three ladies, all very capable and all students by nature. The consequence was that he became a devoted, serviceable teacher

in what we then called "The Annex," the wedge which split an entrance for the higher instruction of women into Harvard University.

Goodwin also had the pleasure of teaching Greek to a young Scotchman — he is present, but I know he will not object to my telling this story — to a young man, who through rather forcible measures on my part, had procured admission to Harvard College as a special student. He had not the previous education necessary to get into Harvard College as a regular student; but he had an enormous capacity for scholarship himself, and promptly became the favorite pupil of Professor William W. Goodwin. Accordingly, one day in the College Faculty, when we chanced to have been discussing the status of special students — a new sort of student in the University peculiarly abhorrent to Professor Goodwin — Goodwin suddenly burst out with a motion. He took the Faculty absolutely by surprise by moving that George A. Gordon be admitted to the Senior Class of Harvard College. And he added, "It is an outrage that such a student as Gordon should be classified in our catalogue as a special student." That motion was hotly debated a few moments in the Faculty; but it prevailed by a large majority.

There Goodwin showed not only his zeal for scholarship, his zeal for Greek literature and the Greek language, but he showed distinct appreciation and understanding of the way in which Harvard College was to be changed from a rather narrow college to a comprehensive university of high standards.

James Mills Peirce was born forty days later than I was in 1834; and we two were supposed to be the two youngest boys in the Class which entered College in 1849. Our selection of studies during the college course was much the same; and in the spring of 1854 we were simultaneously appointed tutors in Mathematics in Harvard College by selection of President James Walker. As young teachers of prescribed Mathematics in the Freshman and Sophomore years we worked together with perfect accord and coöperation. Together we introduced certain improvements in the mode of conducting recitations in Mathematics. Together we obtained very reluctant permission from the College Faculty

to conduct the final examinations for each year in writing — the first written examinations ever demanded at the end of a year's course in Harvard College. Between 1858 and 1860 our intimacy was temporarily suspended, because Peirce's mind suddenly turned toward the ministry and away from teaching; but in 1860–61 Peirce returned to teaching, to which calling I had adhered. Thereafter our professional and friendly associations were uninterrupted. When in 1869 I returned to the service of Harvard College as President, Peirce was at once promoted to a full professorship of Mathematics, although no endowed professorship was vacant. He became in the College Faculty a steady advocate of every measure which enlarged the freedom of students and increased advanced instruction in Harvard College. His influence in the College Faculty was strong, partly because he was visibly disinterested, and partly because he was an ardent speaker and a formidable antagonist in debate. Like Gurney and Dunbar, though at a much later date, Peirce made what was for him the great sacrifice of serving as Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (1890–95), and later as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (1895–98). Together we had shared the inspiration and stimulus which came from his father Benjamin Peirce as a teacher, and together we profited by his father's advice during our early professional career. He had the vision of the new university, and was a strong member of the group that worked for it.

I wish I could go on with the enumeration of the members of this group, but time is lacking. Let me repeat that it was group work that enabled the beginnings to be made between 1869 and 1889 of the conversion of Harvard College into Harvard University.

There is another aspect of the work between 1869 and 1909 your President has been describing, which has great interest for me as I look back upon it, and I think should have some interest for this Society; because the history of those forty years cannot be written except by a person who understands the tremendous change of educational and social conditions which took place between the beginning of my work as President in 1869 and the end of its introductory stage

in — say — 1889. When I first grappled with the development of the elective system, which was, of course, an absolutely necessary preliminary to any building up of Harvard into a university, and indeed a necessary preliminary to the systematic cultivation of high scholarship of any sort in Harvard College, the chief difficulty that I encountered was the procuring of teachers competent to give advanced instruction. There were really no guides to the discovery and invitation of the persons needed. Then none of the societies organized for the development and mutual support of learned and scientific men existed. By 1885 I could get some assistance in the selection of teachers, in inviting scholars to come to Harvard as assistant professor or professor, from the proceedings of the learned and scientific societies. At the beginning there was no such aid.

How was it possible to discover in the seventies the men who could give instruction in Harvard College of a quality such as was needed for the development of scholarship among the Faculty itself and among the students? Only by diligent search among the recognized scholars and leading teachers of the country. I followed those researches with diligence, but with scant success at the beginning of my administration. I had to rely considerably on my own memory of young men whom I had known, of the acquaintances I had formed personally in the preceding fifteen years. For instance, when Professor Theophilus Parsons suddenly resigned without any expectation that his resignation would be accepted, but rather as a demonstration — the resignation was accepted and there was a vacancy in the Dane professorship — I went back in memory to my tutor's room in Divinity Hall, when in my Junior year I had lost the use of my eyes, could not read at all, and suffered a great deal of pain in my eyes, and used to go to my tutor's room in Divinity Hall to hear him read my lessons to me. That was a very beneficial experience; because I suppose that was the beginning of a habit which during my years of educational administration was of great value to me. I refer to a power or capacity of attending closely to what the other man was saying to me. I don't know that I had a better habit during my administrative life than that; and it began in this necessity I was under

of learning all my lessons in my Junior year from a reader. At those meetings with my tutor there used to come into his room a thick-set man with a large head and an ample beard, Scotch in coloring and somewhat Scotch in speech. He stood up before my tutor's fire with his back to it, and he held in his hand a large bowl of brown bread and milk, which he slowly ate, but talked in between mouthfuls. That was the future Professor Langdell. And when the Dane professorship became vacant I knew that the man the University wanted for the Dane professorship was Christopher Columbus Langdell. I went on to New York — I had lost sight of him for a time — but I went on to New York, where he had entered into practice and made a good position for himself, though he seldom went into court. Having talked with him and procured his consent, I had to fall back on college friends of mine, also distinguished lawyers in New York, to get him appointed by the Corporation and confirmed by the Board of Overseers. My friendships told me where to get the indispensable help. Again, gentlemen, group work. If it had not been for Joseph H. Choate and James C. Carter, Langdell could not have been either chosen by the Corporation or confirmed by the Board of Overseers. From one instance learn all.

Now I look back with astonishment on the difficulties I encountered in the selecting of teachers who were absolutely necessary to the building up of Harvard College from, as Professor Louis Agassiz called it, a *lycée* or a gymnasium — foreign terms — into a university. But again I see that it was a case all along of what I have called group work.

I hope that the Historical Society will accept my hearty thanks for this commemoration of my fifty years of membership, and with them this statement of the real historical development of the work the President of the Society has been so generously praising.

Mr. Rhodes followed, saying:

A George Washington kind of man, said of him a celebrated psychologist. Historians and biographers have averred that George Washington was difficult to comprehend. Let them

be told to study President Eliot and they will have in the flesh a George Washington of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It will ever be a controversy among historians whether contemporaries like Thucydides and Tacitus, who lived and moved among their characters, comprehend them better than Gibbon and Parkman, who, detached from all prejudice, study the persons who adorn their dramas from printed and written sources.

The historian or biographer who writes about George Washington may combine the two views. He has in Charles W. Eliot, George Washington. He may perceive the same dignity of bearing. If one presided over the Convention which adopted our Constitution and later was President of the United States, the other presided at Harvard College Commencements, at banquets and on other occasions with which residents of Boston and Cambridge are familiar.

It may be said of Charles W. Eliot, as a well-known English historian said of Washington: "He was in the highest sense of the words a gentleman and a man of honor and he carried into public life the severest standard of private morals." A member of the Harvard Corporation said to a visiting English gentleman, "When we say here 'Mr. President' we mean Charles W. Eliot not Theodore Roosevelt." When William H. Taft, then President of the United States, met Charles W. Eliot he greeted him as "Mr. President."

If Washington created a nation, Eliot created a system of education. Which is the more important, it would be difficult at this time to affirm. When civilizations go, nations perish but the university remains, bearing the torch of learning across the dark and middle ages.

As Washington in private life was reticent to those he did not know well and expansive among friends and intimates, so may Charles W. Eliot, while possibly lofty in Cambridge and Boston, be seen at his favorite place of Mount Desert island as "sweet as summer." About forty years of residence there have attracted him more and more to the spot, and Eliot is always ready to coöperate with others in progressive action. Not the wise despot of Plato, his coöperation, as he has expressed it, lay in team-work. In the noble tribute he paid Viscount Bryce at a memorial meeting of this Society

he drew an illustration from Bryce's view of the mountain range as being one of the finest prospects he had ever seen.

In at least two respects President Eliot differs from Washington: in the exhibitions of a hasty temper and in diction. It would never be said of him as was said of Washington, " thou sayest an undisputed thing in such a solemn way," because President Eliot by his many speeches and sayings impressed people by his excellent choice of language. When a characterization in a few words was wanted, an inscription to put on a monument or a building, recourse was had to Charles W. Eliot. His pithy sayings were repeated throughout the country and many who knew him as only a brilliant educator had their conduct shaped by what he had said. When John Morley during his visit to America in 1904 was conducted to the Shaw Monument, it was not the genius of St. Gaudens that he admired so much as it was the succinct history written by Charles W. Eliot, of what the negro troops had done during the Civil War.

A member of this Society for fifty years, a lot shared by only one other man, he always has done what he was asked to do. Whether a speech or a eulogy in his choice language, uttered in his resonant and attractive voice, he was not only adequate to the occasion but performed the duty in a masterly way.

Mr. McCall then said:

Mr. President: — I shall not attempt to add except in a single particular to the words that have been so fitly spoken by the president and by Mr. Rhodes about Dr. Eliot. But I have in mind to say a few things about him as a public man, and a public man of the most eminent type, although he was never confined within the limitations of public office. It happened for a good many years that I numbered him among my constituents, and I had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the keen and active interest that he took in specific public measures. He was not simply content with casting his vote and delegating his power to another and then leaving his representative, absolving himself from responsibility wholly and only reserving the right to

visit him with punishment if he acted badly and to reward him if he acted well. And I noticed that he had a very wide range of interest. It was not simply confined to things that were connected with his calling, although that was very broad in its application. But I found that he would be interested in the welfare and happiness of farmers, in the establishment of rural mail routes, in questions about peace and war and in our duty toward those who were in effect our subject peoples, however they may have been disguised under the euphemism of the hour. And if I am not mistaken, I think I heard from him, as I have no doubt you, sir, also did, upon the subject of the tariff.

This, however, only was expressive of a symptom. It only displays his interest over a small portion of the field. He had a wholesale method of procedure and would upon occasion take the whole public of the country into his confidence. He had an ever widening constituency. The clarity and soundness of his thought, his simple and convincing power of expression, wholly at the antipodes from hyperbole and buncombe, and his devotion to the high standards of public duty, helped to create a following throughout the country great in numbers and even greater in its influence.

I do not think he aimed to appeal to the imagination — something that has become a very common thing. It has become quite the steady recourse of the political acrobat. It may be a good thing to appeal to the imagination in pathological cases, but I do not think as a rule it is a good thing to appeal to the imagination of the voters in the government of a republic. President Eliot did what I think was the more judicious thing — he appealed to the reason, and in that way he really contributed to the ability of the people to solve their problems and to act rightly. He has, as I said, built up a great constituency, and I think during the last two decades he has stood in his influence over the intelligent thought of the country without a rival. The value to a Republic like ours of a citizen full of the consecration of a high public spirit and able and willing to give his countrymen wise words of counsel, is beyond all calculation. Such a citizen performs many of the functions of a free press and to a great extent is an antidote to the political

myth-makers. He helps give the people the truth. We do not always get the truth from our statesmen. They are too apt to tune their voices to the times and then sometimes they are apt to consider that their perpetuation in office is synonymous with the well-being of the country. President Eliot in that regard stood in an absolutely disinterested position. And so it has come about that hundreds of thousands have come to look to President Eliot for leading, for advice, even for guidance in the performance of the responsibilities of citizenship. I know that exaggeration is very much out of place here, because it is sure to be exposed and disappear in the dry light that pervades this hall. But measuring my words I say that President Eliot looms up as a sublime landmark in the political landscape of our time.

William Roscoe Thayer.

The President then announced the death of our associate, William Roscoe Thayer, saying:

Mr. Thayer died at his home in Cambridge on September 7, 1923, closing a membership in the Society from October 11, 1894: in the Council from April, 1897, excepting the years 1898–1902; and as Corresponding Secretary from April, 1912. His record of attendance at the meetings is nearly complete, broken mostly by his enforced absence from home.

He contributed a number of papers, and he also prepared Memoirs of John Fiske, of Lucien Carr, Curtis Guild, and Andrew MacFarland Davis, beside paying tribute to the memory of Charles Francis Adams, John D. Long, Pasquale Villari, and Andrew D. White.

He served the Society on various committees: represented the Society in the International Congress of Historical Sciences, which met at Rome in April, 1903; and was a delegate in a conference on a Dictionary of American Biography in April, 1911.

Dr. Gordon spoke as follows:

I first met William Roscoe Thayer in 1878 in Harvard College. We were then fellow-students in what was known

as Philosophy IV, a course devoted to the exposition and criticism of Locke, Berkeley and Hume; one of the best of philosophic disciplines, under George H. Palmer, one of the best of teachers. Mr. Thayer won distinction in this course, but it did not determine the direction in which his mind was to move.

Mr. Thayer was a moralist by constitution and a humanist by vocation. The moralist was present in all his studies, and the humanist gave breadth and enrichment to the moralist. His interest in Dante, whom he knew so well, was at once aesthetic and ethical. The verse of the great Florentine was to him sphere melody, and the Divine Comedy a symbol of the order of the universe — stern, beautiful, pervaded with mystery.

Mr. Thayer was a scholar. In the field which he made his own he was extraordinarily well read, and careful as to matters of fact. His scholarship was of the humanistic type; it was wide-ranging, free, never satisfied with knowledge in itself, always under a dominating purpose, and that purpose to gain insight into the heart of great movements, great men, great races.

Mr. Thayer was both historian and biographer. Under the form of biography, as in his Cavour, he brought into the field of action a character central and sovereign. Around this character he built the drama of his hero's time, embracing persons near and remote to the main movement, of the most diverse types, the whole environed and pervaded by the thought and passion of the age. Mr. Thayer wrote in a style characterized by brilliance, energy, and fullness of expression.

The qualities we look for in a historian and biographer are learning, sympathy, and discernment. No one can read *The Life of Cavour* and fail to be impressed with its learning. The scholar's toil is behind it; it is evident on every page. The writer's sympathy with his subject is equally obvious. Italy's history, literature, genius, aspirations, all engaged him. Thus he became not only the spokesman to our country of her character, but also the prophet of her unfulfilled hopes. Mr. Thayer's discernment appears in his recognition of Cavour's greatness. This was, of course, known

to all students of history; it remained for Mr. Thayer to make this great figure living and potent to the American reading public.

Mr. Thayer was a man of war, and had shed much blood, Continental blood generally, German blood in particular. It must be added that there was no cruelty in this warfare; the goal was always the welfare of man as he conceived it, and the work of the sword was a regrettable incidental necessity. His passionate force may have cost him some friendships, but brave men will regard this sacrifice as in the highest degree creditable to him. While it may not be true that the man who never lost a friend never had one, never was himself a reality, it should be plain that the man who fails to put loyalty to an ideal above all else could hardly be worthy of the highest kind of friendship. Plato revered Homer, yet when the choice was between Homer and Truth, the truth was chosen. Aristotle loved Plato, but when, in his judgment, Plato and Truth stood opposed, Plato was set aside for truth. We have indeed the highest authority for this mood that is ready to sacrifice the most precious things for ideal truth and beauty and goodness: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." For such men dead friendships live again, and those who have been pained for a time return to do the old friend still greater honor.

The quiet romance of the scholar's life, its joyous industry, its fruitful toil, its exalted companionships, its lasting saving grace, all were a part of Mr. Thayer's existence. We knew him in one of the happiest of homes, as one of the friendliest of men; at the same time we knew him as a heroic servant of truth and duty, as a high militant spirit, as a happy warrior who, having fought the beautiful fight, has won a soldier's rest.

Professor HART said:

It seemed impossible to me to come here today without saying a word of tribute and farewell to a man whom all of us love; a man who did his part most valiantly for his university, for his community, for his craft, for those so-

cieties in which he took a part, and who, leaving us, leaves a place which no man fills.

It has been my lot to know him for many years, and of late years as a near neighbor, a frequent friend. We met very often, and in his very latest months, going down hill, I saw him many, many times, and never saw him without cheer. I never went away from his sick-room without feeling an elevation of thought.

Thayer did great things for this Society, to which he was faithful. He was a great spirit in all the affairs of Harvard University. Once a teacher, responsible in hardly less measure than Major Higginson for the Harvard Union, always a lover of Harvard, a believer in Harvard, an apostle of Harvard and an exemplar of Harvard. Those who knew him best loved him best. He had a multitude of friends of whom I am but one; yet there is none of them to whom his departure means more. *Integer vitae; vale, William!*

Dr. Shattuck read extracts from two letters written by his father to his grandfather.

To George C. Shattuck

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 17, 1849.

Mr. Pettigru called today on Frederick. He is considered the first lawyer in the city, and is a very gentlemanly man in social intercourse. The Bishop told us he had occasion to call on him a year or two ago on account of a ball which was proposed to be given in honor of Mr. Clay, on Thursday evening, the day before Good Friday. Mr. Pettigru at once saw that as a chairman it was his duty to do all in his power to put off the merriment to a proper season, and did his best with the Committee of Reception, but in vain. They replied to his remonstrances that Episcopalians need not go to the entertainment, but their views ought not to prevent the enjoyment of others who did not entertain them. Mr. Pettigru was not, however, to be foiled, but wrote to Colonel Preston, at Columbia, who represented the matter to Mr. Clay, at that time his guest, and the latter wrote to Charleston that it would not be convenient for him to come until Monday, and stayed and attended a divine service on Good Friday, with his friend, Colonel Preston. The Presbyterians did not like

this very well, but took their revenge laughing at Episcopalians as queer fellows who would dance on Monday but not on Friday. . . .

CHARLESTON, S. C.,
November 22, 1849.

We went for a short time to the Hibernian Hall to hear Ex-Governor Hammond deliver the address before the Institute. The first exhibition of manufactures to this State is now being held under the direction of this Institute. I will send you a paper giving an account of this address. I am told that a great change has taken place in Carolina; that young men of the first families are now glad to go into counting-rooms, and that there is a disposition to encourage manufactures. In this way some of their jealousy of the North will be abated, and the interests of the two sections of the country will be further identified.

Frederick went to a dinner yesterday given by Mr. Gourdin, and met Mr. Pringle and several of the first gentlemen here. They talked very decidedly about the Union and showed a great disposition for dissolving it. Mr. Poinsett was as decided in contrary opinions the day before.

I was much pleased with a conversation with our coachman. I sat with him, the ladies being inside. He is a free mulatto, keeps a livery stable, and owns three hacks. He is perfectly satisfied with the institutions of his native state. Said he, "God never intended all men should be equal. Look, sir, at that bird! He is one sort of bird, has his use, and there are other sorts. Look at that pine, and that oak! They have not the same value. There are white men, and there are colored men, and there are black men, and each class in this city are by themselves. The colored people are better off and more intimate with the whites here than in the Northern States. There are three or four of the first gentlemen of this city who will endorse a note for five hundred or a thousand dollars any time I ask them. I keep a cow, and I will send them a present of some milk or some cream, and they will receive it as politely as if from the first gentleman in the land. The other day Colonel ——— sent me half a dozen bottles of wine, and this token of goodwill passed between us.

"I have been brought up, sir, with some of the first gentlemen of the city, have lived under the same roof, and played ball and marbles with them, and of course we feel much interest in each other's welfare. I have every comfort of life, own a good house, my daughters have learned trades, are mantua-makers em-

ployed by the best people. The white people take good care of us, and we ought not to expect to be their equals. Our Saviour, sir, came as a servant, and He chose His apostles amongst the poor and illiterate, and any Christian ought not to be discontented because he is not great, or rich, or white, or wise."

I give you the substance of the man's remarks, and very nearly as he talked with me. I am told that Mr. Webster brought his mulatto servants with him to Charleston, and Matthews entertained them and borrowed silver forks and spoons, and china of some gentlemen. He said he meant to show these strangers how comfortable colored people are in Charleston. . . .

[George C. Shattuck, Jr.]

Mr. Nathan Mathews presented his paper on

Early Files of the County Courts of Massachusetts.[1]

The purpose of this informal address is not so much to discuss the courts established and the law administered in the Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as to call attention to the wealth of material for the early history of our people in their personal and social relations which lies buried in the files of the county courts organized in the first few years after the foundation of the Colony.

So far as the jurisprudence of this period is concerned the records are fairly complete and reasonably accessible, although there is only one known copy of the most important — the code or "Laws" of 1648. The decisions of legal questions incidentally made by the General Court are to be found in the official edition of the Colony Records. The Court of Assistants functioned from 1629 to 1692 and most of its records have been preserved and partly printed. Unfortunately they are of little use to the student of colonial law, because the court seldom gave its reasons, and almost every case, at least on the civil side of the court, might have been decided on any one of several grounds. Moreover, most of the decisions of the Court of Assistants that have been preserved and printed relate to criminal causes. The legal history of seventeenth century Massachusetts is still to

[1] This paper was outlined at the meeting of May 10, 1923.

be written; but the materials, such as they are, can be extracted from the records already referred to and from those contained in the files of the inferior court which are the subject of this paper. The result of such an inquiry would, however, be disappointing. A land without lawyers cannot have produced much law; and a government which, after sixty years of successful operation fell because of the absence of an educated bar, is not to be looked to for instruction in the science or practice of the law.

The records last named, the so-called " files " of the county courts and the other inferior tribunals which operated under the colony government, have been preserved, almost in their integrity, in the shape of writs, complaints, answers, depositions, judgments, and appeals, for every settlement which for any length of time was under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay between 1630 and 1690. The papers in these files are so voluminous in extent and so comprehensive in character as to be a source of information as to manners, customs, character and habits which, I believe, is entirely without a rival in the history of any other people who played as considerable a part in the history of the seventeenth century as did the founders of Massachusetts. Until lately, these papers have been practically inaccessible. They are still for the most part buried in boxes and closets in our county court-houses, and the object of this paper is to call attention to the importance and relatively small cost of preserving them in print.

The great and unexpected immigration to New England which followed the successful establishment of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in what was afterwards known as Boston harbor, brought about almost immediately the transformation of a commercial company into a political colony, and this involved, notwithstanding the hostility of the governing class to law and lawyers, the establishment of tribunals of some sort before which the individual disputes of the colonists could be litigated. During the first five years, 1630 to 1635, we find the Court of Assistants regularly, and the General Court sometimes, functioning as judicial tribunals; but there were, apparently, no regular local courts until 1636. By that time there were about fif-

teen settlements or "towns" within the limits of the Massachusetts charter as ultimately determined, besides a few settlements further east within the limits of the Mason and Gorges patents, jurisdiction over which had been assumed, or was soon to be, by the Massachusetts Colony. There were probably between ten and twenty thousand persons then living under the Colony Charter, and regular courts had become a practical necessity.

Accordingly at a general court held at Newtowne (now Cambridge) on March 3, 1635–6, four popular courts were established for the administration of justice in both civil and criminal affairs; one at Cambridge, one at Salem, one at Ipswich (to include after 1641 also the existing settlements in what is now New Hampshire) and one at Boston. The Boston court was to have exclusive jurisdiction over that town, Roxbury, Dorchester, Weymouth and Hingham, and after 1641 concurrent jurisdiction with the courts at Salem and Ipswich in cases involving £100 or more. After the establishment in 1643 of the four counties of Suffolk, Middlesex, Essex and Norfolk (that is "old Norfolk," meaning the settlements in what is now New Hampshire or Maine), the jurisdiction of the Suffolk County Court held at Boston was extended to include Dedham, Braintree and Nantasket in addition to the five towns already named.

The court files for Essex County are being printed, and eight volumes, covering the period between 1636 and 1683, have already appeared. The equally important records for Suffolk and Middlesex counties should also be made accessible to the public; for it is not too much to say that the real history of the founders of Massachusetts is to be found in these voluminous, intimate and (except for Essex County) practically inaccessible records. They are of the greatest value and importance in giving a full and truthful picture of the manners and customs, as well as of the social and economic conditions existing in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay from the earliest days of the settlement. There is no other original source to which the historian or sociologist can go that compares in extent and diversified character with this accumulation of documentary evidence; for in the early days nearly every person, sooner or later, came

into contact with the courts, either as plaintiff, witness or defendant.

As illustrating the comprehensive character of these files it may be seen, by glancing through the index of a single volume, that those for Essex County contain exhaustive information concerning lands, farms, orchards, rights of way and land titles generally; highways, drains and other public works; descents, wills, inventories and the other incidents of the administration of estates; the construction, cost and other details of houses, churches, barns, mills, shops, malt-houses, breweries, inns and other buildings; furniture, furnishings and over two hundred kinds of household utensils; horses, cows and other domestic animals; about seventy-five kinds of cloth and one hundred different articles or materials of clothing; about fifty articles of food and a dozen kinds of drink; vessels of many kinds and equipment; military affairs, armor and weapons; relations with the Indians; amusements; licenses for innholders and the sale of liquor; manufactures, trades, professions; medicines and diseases; trespasses of all sorts upon real estate; personal injury cases; actions of slander and libel; crimes and misdemeanors of all sorts — over one hundred kinds; the churches, their members, pastors and affairs; and innumerable other individual, social and political matters.

Many histories have been written of the Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts, some of them invaluable as convenient and accurate records of events and facts; but the sources of information usually drawn on have been the public records, supplemented, for the first two decades, by Winthrop's *Journal,* and the historians have often been special pleaders for a particular cause or party. What may be called the standard histories of Massachusetts, chief among them that of Palfrey, contain accurate and reasonably full accounts of the political events and struggles of the time; but the writers of these books are generally too much in sympathy with the Puritan views of church and state to do justice to the effect of these views upon the common affairs of the people. The critics of Puritan Massachusetts, like Oliver and Brooks Adams, also pay undue attention to the politico-theological controversies which fill so many pages in

Winthrop's *Journal* and the lamentations of Johnson and Mather. Mr. Adams goes so far as to claim that the congregation was the basis of the commonwealth. These writers, like their pro-puritan opponents, make little or no use of the town and court records in which the actual life of the people is disclosed. More recently Mr. J. T. Adams, also making no use of these, the really "vital records" of the time, assumes — entirely without proof — that the majority of the early settlers were opposed to the rule of the clergy, that the people had no military desires or aptitude, and that the government of the colony was in general unrepresentative and ineffective. Other critics of our ancestors interpret the prosecutions for being "disguised" or "distempered" with drink as indicating that there was an excessive amount of drinking in seventeenth century Massachusetts, which by inheritance has had a degenerating effect upon the descendants of the Puritans. None of these errors could have been made by writers who had carefully investigated the local affairs and private lives of the 30,000 English men and women, more or less, who came to Massachusetts between 1630 and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1641 and their descendants, as set out in the town records and the files of the county records from say 1635 to 1692. It is, in fact, well recognized that no historical work undertaken in this state in recent years begins to compare in importance with the publication of the Essex files; and the actual life of the founders of Massachusetts can never be fully or truthfully described until the original documents in the county courts have been made easily available to students and writers.

As to the Suffolk files, the late John Noble, clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, wrote in 1897 as follows: "The early days are reproduced with a vividness which no formal history can give, and the picture of the times has a local color and atmosphere otherwise unattainable. . . . The preservation of these papers cannot fail to prove of inestimable value and bring a lasting credit to the County of Suffolk . . . and to the successive administrations, Mayors, and Aldermen, who have shown their constant interest throughout." These papers, which for years had been the prey of genealogists and autograph hunters, were in danger

of complete dispersion when in 1883 through the efforts of Mr. Hugh O'Brien, then a member of the Board of Aldermen and afterwards Mayor of the city, the Board adopted an order authorizing the arrangement, repair and preservation of the original court papers of the county of Suffolk covering the period from 1629 to 1800. The papers from 1629 to 1692 are now pasted into thirty-one folio volumes. Those for the period between 1692 and 1700 fill twenty-one volumes. It is of the utmost importance that this invaluable collection of documents and facts should be printed in a form somewhat similar to the printed records of the courts of Essex county, so that the details of the social and economic history of the people of Boston as they really lived may at last become known.

As to the number of volumes, the time required and the probable cost of the work, the best estimate I can make is that the Suffolk Court papers from the beginning down to the Province Charter, 1692, could be printed in from eight to ten volumes at a net cost of about $3000 per volume, and that the work could be completed within five years.

So much of the papers or files of the Court of Assistants as relate to appeals from the Essex county courts have been included in the "Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County" already referred to; and I assume that in printing the Suffolk files the same practice would be followed, that is the Suffolk county volumes would contain copies or abstracts of the papers in the Suffolk appeals to the Court of Assistants.

There are in existence two manuscript volumes of the proceedings, or records in the strict sense, of the Suffolk County Court; one covering the period between 1671 and 1680, the other the period between 1680 and 1692; but as the final records of the court will be included in the volumes the printing of which is now urged, no further expense need be incurred for the printing of the manuscripts referred to.

There is another volume of ancient records which ought to be printed now. The proceedings of the Court of Assistants from 1673 to 1692 were published in 1901 as volume I of the records of that court, and in 1904 the records from 1630 to 1644 were printed as volume II. This left the period

from 1644 to 1673 for a third volume which is already in manuscript form and partly in print. While these records contain merely the official minutes of the court, are mainly confined to criminal complaints, and are in no sense comparable in utility for legal or historical purposes to the papers in the files of this court or of the inferior county courts, it would nevertheless seem that the gap in these records as printed should be filled by the publication of volume III of the Records of the Court of Assistants. The estimated cost of publishing this volume is about $2,500.

The expense of arranging, editing and printing the Essex County records has been defrayed partly by the county, partly by private subscriptions and partly by the sale of the printed volumes for which there is a fair demand from lawyers and public libraries. It would seem that the city of Boston, which finances the county of Suffolk, might easily have appropriated the small sums necessary to print the final volume of the records of the Court of Assistants, and to commence the compilation and publication of the files of the County Court; but for twenty years it has been impossible to interest the city government in either of these matters. Recently, in 1921, and again in the present year, efforts have been made to secure a modest appropriation for this purpose, but without success.

There is other work to be done in making the original sources of our colonial history available and easy to use. A new index to the five large volumes of the *Colony Records* is needed; also one for Winthrop's *Journal*. Permission should be granted by the owner of the only copy in existence of the "Laws of 1648" to have them edited and reprinted. The printing of the early town records should be completed, notably for Ipswich, which practically throughout the seventeenth century was the second town in Massachusetts. A general index of the early letters, narratives and miscellaneous papers which have found their way into print should be prepared. But the most important work of all for the lawyer, student and historian is the publication of the court files of Suffolk and Middlesex counties, which, owing to the vast numbers of depositions preserved in them, probably contain more information about life and manners in the seventeenth century than the records of any other people.

The cost of editing and printing the Suffolk and Middlesex files would not be over $50,000, and although I dislike to close this address with what may sound like an appeal for money, I know of no better place than a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society at which to set forth the need for raising the money to make these necessary records available to the public.

And there is no time like the present. The Puritan race is passing on, and its influence in the nation it helped to form is being over-balanced by other races and by other ideals of politics and conduct. But it seems to me that there ought to be enough of us still living in the land of our fathers to rescue their real history from oblivion. The Puritan founders of Massachusetts are removed from us by from six to ten generations; their aims are hard to understand; and according to our ideas they must have been an uncomfortable people to live with. They had no taste for literature, science or art; no regard for the beauties of nature; and but little love of pleasure or sport. They had settled in a land of rocks and sand, " intolerant of culture." They were consequently poor, and they lived what to us would be forlorn and cheerless lives. But during the sixty years of the Colony Charter there were no public frauds, no peculation, no selfish ambitions, no cheap politics. All these came in with the Province Charter and its royal governors. It is not too much to say that during these sixty years there was no governor, deputy governor, or member of the court of assistants, or any person of commanding influence in the government of the Massachusetts Bay, who could not as he left this world raise his right hand up to heaven after the manner of the Puritan oath and truthfully say, as one of them did, that it had been his sole ambition " to be of service in a common way," or in the language of another, speaking of the state he had helped to found, " I have made it my wife, my life." No such record of unselfish, incorruptible and unremunerated public service as that established by the Puritan leaders of the Massachusetts Colony can, I believe, be found in the annals of any other people. They founded New England, and their descendants, more than any other division of the English race, have shaped the history of the United

States as we have known it. They were our people, and we are the natural guardians of their history and repute. Is it too much to expect that our interest and generosity will enable the true history of Puritan Massachusetts to be written from the important but now inaccessible papers which I have brought to your attention this afternoon?

Mr. Wilbur has submitted the following on

A Letter of Levi Allen, 1789.

A short time ago, Professor William T. Laprade, of Trinity College, Durham, North Carolina, discovered in the Public Records Office in London, a letter from Levi Allen to William Pitt, and thinking it of historical interest, as Vermont was at that time a republic, sent a copy to the Massachusetts Historical Society. The letter was referred to me, with the request that some information be given regarding Levi Allen and his responsibility. The letter is as follows:

Levi Allen to William Pitt.

London, December 25th, 1789
At Col. Skene's, Chelsea.

Sir, — Having arrived in this city with a commission from the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont, issued in consequence of an Act of the Legislature thereof, for the Purpose of Negotiating Matters of Trade and Commerce, with special Instructions further to assure Government that Vermont as a People are both from local situation and natural Inclination desirous of sharing in the Blessings of the British Government.

This, the Congress of the United States have some Idea of, and have actually made Overtures to said Vermont, therein granting them all the Priviledges of every State in the Union, and not to be accountable for any debt or debts heretofore contracted by the thirteen states or any or either of them and to extend Vermont West till it meets the River St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, on condition they join the Union, and become the 14th state. A particular Account of this, and much more has been secretly transmitted me by my surviving brother in Vermont, which has just come to hand, the whole Information is entirely at your Service but too Prolix to Intrude on you undesired.

Further, as the Posts (called the Upper Posts) in America are demanded by Congress, I beg leave to Proffer my service to Raise a Regiment of Green Mountain boys for *His Majesty's* service, in case hostilities should make an Augmentation of Troops in America necessary.

As a duty I owe to the best of sovereigns, and the British Empire at Large I most humbly request the favor of an Audience as soon as convenient; as I think the Good intentions of the Vermonters have not been attended to, perhaps not properly explained.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, Right Honorable Sir, Your most Devoted, Humble Servt.,

LEVI ALLEN.

Levi Allen was not the least interesting character of the six Allen brothers, of whom Ethan, who captured Ticonderoga, was the oldest and Ira, who founded the State of Vermont, the largest city in the State, and the University of Vermont, was the youngest. Levi was the only member of the family who joined the British in the Revolution. His property in Vermont was confiscated on the complaint made by his brother, Ethan. The two brothers, however, retained their friendship for each other through the conflict and when peace was declared, in 1783, they aided each other in business. Levi had been a partner with his older brother, Heman, in a general merchandise store, in Salisbury, Connecticut. He was a pioneer in the tanning industry, going out alone in 1770 as far as Detroit through a hostile Indian country to bargain for skins. He was engaged in this business for the period of three years and risked his life on every trip. He operated in the Carolinas, where he lost a fortune for those days and he traded in East Florida. After peace was declared he engaged in mercantile business in St. John's in Lower Canada, on the border of Lake Champlain.

Levi decided to go to London in 1788, to buy goods and to obtain a contract for supplying the British navy with masts for their ships; for his brother Ira owned many thousand acres of fine pine timber along the borders of the lake and was engaged in shipping logs and lumber by raft to Quebec.

The Vermont Legislature in 1784 appointed three commissioners to negotiate a free trade with England and Can-

ada. Thinking that Levi, who was going to London, might assist in obtaining privileges for a free trade with Vermont, one of the commissioners resigned and Levi Allen was appointed in his place. He went on his journey with very little cash but carried some drafts drawn by Montreal merchants, many of which were not honored.

On arriving in London, he called on the Rev. Samuel Peters, who had been obliged to flee from Connecticut when war was declared. He soon discovered that Peters was anxious to return to this country as a Bishop and at once proposed that a Bishopric and College be established at St. John's to preside over Lower Canada and the Republic of Vermont. He induced Peters to write a petition, which Levi signed, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (to which had been granted tracts of land in almost every town in Vermont) to have Peters appointed Bishop. He also induced Peters to write for him a petition to Lord Sydney and others in power.

Gen. John Graves Simcoe, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, in a letter to one of the ministers concerning Levi, wrote: "I must beg of you not to be prepossessed against him from his uncultivated appearance. The family are remarkable for their sound sense and spirit of enterprise." This appearance may account for an insult offered Levi in a London coffee house by one Major Jessup. Levi at once challenged him to fight a duel and threatened to post him as a coward if he did not accept. The Major was not looking for such a spirited return and was glad to escape without a beating. This affair was evidently known to some of the Government officials for we find the following cordial letter from Levi to Evan Nepean, Under Secretary of State, dated September 18, 1789:

Sir; I return you many thanks for the Very Polite Manner of the refusal of the Small favor I solicited. You mention I was acquainted with Major Jessup. I never saw him till I had the misfortune to meet him in London but was in a fair way as I thought to get acquainted with him. The matter went so far that in consequence of some Illiberal Liberties he took with my Character, I sent him a note mentioning time and place, a case of pistols, seconds, etc. I attended with my second, Capt. Goldsbury,

but as the Major did not appear, our future acquaintance broke off. I only advertised the fact at the coffee house the most frequented by said Jessup.

At a time when the Sons of God met together, Satan also came among them. The latter hearing the former boasting of the uprightness of their Servant Job, the Devil archly replied that Job did not serve God for naught; but I defie all the Devils in Hell to say the same respecting Allens serving the King.

I have 300 Good, faithful subjects of George III, who are anxiously disposed to settle in His Majesty's Province of Canada. If lands were granted, would commence the Settlement immediately. I am, Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servt,

LEVI ALLEN.

In a letter of the following year, Levi wrote:

If I had not challenged Major Jessup I should have been damned to everlasting infamy. From that foundation sprang my present bliss and future prospects, sanguine of stirring glory.

Through friends recently acquired in England and through the assistance of General Simcoe, he obtained credit for about ten thousand pounds of merchandise.

Levi's London letters give one an amusing and adequate idea of some conditions that obtained in those early days. His first efforts were directed toward getting a contract for masts. The boat on which he sailed "sprung a leak off the Irish coast," so he landed and drove to Cork arriving in London, April 23, 1789, at five P.M. He had a letter of introduction from Lord Dorchester, then Governor General of Canada, to Evan Nepean, which he presented early the next morning. Nepean gave him a letter to Sir Charles Middleton, head of the Navy office. There, he learned that the contracts for that year had been let; the last one, April eighth.

He called on Col. Philip Skene, formerly of New York. Skene had endeavored, in 1775, to have the King put Northern New York and Vermont into a new Province and make him governor. Levi writes, in a letter to Ira, May 3, 1789:

I called on Col. Skene, our first governor, and complimented him by the title of governor. He received me with great professions of friendship; have dined with him twice and I believe that

is all I shall make of him except another dinner. He adopts the court style. In fine it is a tight match between Skene and myself; he wants me to recommend his former American estate and I want to have it said I am at home at Col. Skene's, frequently dining with him.

His letter to Pitt was written at Col. Skene's.

What he thought of the English way of doing business, is told in the following letter:

To Ira Allen.

London, 24th May, 1789.

Dear Brother:

I find many things was necessary. If any of us had been acquainted with the methods of getting contracts with Government, we should have conducted it quite different. The line of introduction was good so far and the proposal or information I sent was well to let them know masts could be had in the north parts of America, etc., but no contract is ever obtained here without able friends; and not only so, but they must have interest in the business. A member of Parliament must be concerned in the matter. The Prime Minister for his part secures the members' vote. The member of Parliment must get something handsome to purchase votes on the election, keeping open house, etc. After all this is done, then you are ready to begin your business without which nothing is done. All matters here go on in such a manner that a plain honest man would be disappointed a hundred times and never know the reason. I thought I had rubbed off a large quantity of my natural honesty, yet was simple enough to suppose the lowest offer would be closed with; but find it all a joke. The business is settled in quite another manner All public contracts here are sold; I ought to have been here at least two months before the latter part of August, 1788; then could have got matters properly prepared, after which would not have cared one farthing what offer was made, none of them would have been accepted of. So much to give you a small idea of the method of doing business in this polite place.

Now, Sir, if anything further offers, I am ready to embrace it, but except a war increases the demand for masts, etc., there is no other chance in the mast way but getting a part under those who have contracted, and I have but little dependence on that, but hope to cook the matter so as to be ready for the next contract;

and in all human probability there will be war with France or Spain or some other Power before long. It is six years since the last infamous peace and history will show the English rarely exceed seven in profound peace. I have got surprisingly in with the clergy, etc.

With unconscious irony, he closes with Pope's lines:

> Honor and shame from no condition rise,
> Act well your part, there, all the honor lies.

He then appends a ludicrous name which he often used, "Dr. Alonzo."

Notwithstanding Levi's finances were in a very low state, he decided to remain in London until he could achieve something, even if it was no more than to secure as many pounds, shillings and pence as he could, from the Government. His "getting in with the clergy," as he called it, cost the Rev. Samuel Peters quite a sum for one living on a small pension. After five years' effort to recover money he had loaned to Levi, Dr. Peters wrote to Gen. Ira Allen, August 29, 1796:

> Mr. Levi needs not to be told at this time that all his once well grounded hopes in England have been blasted and blotted out ever since July, 1792, and if he should visit England again he will find it true to his durable confinement; pray, Sir, tell him that Punic Faith was what he pretended to hate and yet his Verdmontic Faith is far worse and has done his brother Ira and Gov. Chittenden more harm in England than his life and Repentance can restore. The State of Verdmont would now be noticed but for his conduct which no gentleman *but one* would boast of and live.
>
> N. B. Very few men would sell themselves and friends for £400 yet Mr. Levi Allen sold himself dearly for a less sum to his Benefactor, to benefit his foes and to dam all his mercantile and honorable prospects of gain. I will leave him to his Philipic Faith and to the checks of his own conscience to prepare him for that change of climates he must soon or late undergo.

Levi found the sentiment among the English officials favorable to retaining the posts along the border between the United States and Canada and, if possible, securing the goodwill of the people of Vermont, if not the actual possession

of the State. He played up to this desire with great shrewdness, and through the impression he made and through promises of what he could accomplish on his return to Vermont, he was granted a pension as a Loyalist during the Revolution and received a substantial advance. Before obtaining this, he was so far reduced in funds that he had to secrete himself in London under an assumed name to escape arrest for debts which he had contracted.

In one letter, he reveals himself "in retirement," as he called it; "But as Death and Inability seldom attack a man till he has got ready to live, like the gout which only attacks the rich, so I am in a good way to avoid Death and bodily inabilities. My common and I may say, my constant breakfast is bread and milk; dinner, except with a friend, beefsteak, a pint of porter and one penny of bread and a hapenth of cheese, and sometimes bread and milk, any of which is brought to my room as I order."

It was an experience for Pitt and the other ministers of England to encounter this shrewd unprincipled Yankee, who, to further his own interests, did not scruple to deceive them by holding out to them a possibility of the realization of their hopes. His lack of hesitancy in approaching Pitt, and all those in power, shows the self-confidence that the stirring days, preceding and during the American Revolution, gave to characters like Levi Allen.

Without this explanation, the letter to Pitt, published alone, could easily mislead a student of American history.

Mr. Ford presented a paper on

Benjamin Harris, Printer and Bookseller.

Benjamin Harris, printer and bookseller in London and Boston, was not of sufficient note to find place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Some of his contemporary rivals are there — such as Chiswell, Dunton, and Parkhurst — who lacked the touch of persecution and the somewhat costly notoriety which gave Harris a more direct connection with the political religion of the time. To suffer for opinion's sake does not necessarily imply fame, or even remembrance;

and a name for martyrdom is quite as apt to be attached to unworthy as to deserving objects. Time may correct the impression of the day, which dealt rather unkindly with Harris, and history must seek to extract truth from the conflicting contemporary conclusions; but as long as history is written by mortal man the corrections are liable to be quite as tainted as the original fault. Prejudice gives picturesque relations; hence colorless fact is a more certain informer, each reader interpreting it by his own pet prejudices. I propose to give some facts on Harris as a publisher. The name Harris was not connected with the London book trade before 1670,[1] and Benjamin Harris' first venture was noted in the *Term Catalogues,* November, 1673, apparently sold through another person — Robert Clavell — who had been made free of the Stationers Company in 1656 and recently been "clothed," and to whose industry we owe much of our knowledge of the London publishing trade of the second half of the seventeenth century. This first publication was by Benjamin Keach (1640–1704), a Calvinistic Baptist, pastor of a small church in Goat-Yard Passage, Horsleydown.[2] Its title in the *Term Catalogues* reads:

War with the Devil, or The young man's Conflict with the Powers of Darkness: in a Dialogue discovering the corruption and vanity of Youth, the horrible nature of Sin, and deplorable condition of fallen man. With an Appendix, containing a Dialogue between an old Apostate and a young Professor. Printed for Benjamin Harris in *Bell Alley,* in *Coleman street:* and sold by Robert Clavell in *Little Britain.* Price 1s. 6d.[3]

Coleman Street in the ward of the same name, was somewhat remote from the book center of the city, which always had clung to St. Paul's, and this may account for the agency of Clavell, as well as the fact that Clavell was the originator

[1] Arber has a single entry by Andrew Harris in 1598.

[2] His son, Elias, conducted a Baptist mission in 1688 at Pennepack, Pennsylvania, which is still in existence.

[3] *Term Catalogues* (Arber), I. 147. It was printed in a twelfth edition in New York by William Bradford, "not earlier than 1715," says Sabin. Evans gives it place in 1704 as well as in 1714, with the same collations, probably a duplication of title with confusion of dates. In *Brinley Catalogue,* 3405, Trumbull gives good reason for assigning 1714 as about the year of printing.

of the *Term Catalogues,* the advertising medium of the English book trade.

In describing Harris' activity as a publisher there are two leading sources of information, the *Stationers' Registers* and the *Term Catalogues.* To these may now be added a third, the advertisements in his newspaper *Domestick Intelligence,* 1679–1681, a somewhat brief existence, yet sufficient to throw light upon the most interesting part of Harris' career. All three combined do not give a complete list of his publications, or one to my satisfaction; but my object is rather to show the kind of books Harris issued, in the hope that they may indicate something more definite about the man himself than is at present known. Entry of a title at Stationers' Hall seems to have been, in Harris' time, more or less a matter of choice with the publisher. Such entry protected "copyright," but the general nature of his issues would hardly tempt infringement of rights, for they were not profitable. The "best sellers," such as school books, manuals of religious service and a few standard books of general circulation, were held by the Hall itself. The utility rendered by the company was rather outside of copyrights, and while tinged with monopoly it exerted a wholesome influence in the trade and offered a united body which could wield power over its members as well as against its would-be rivals, when expedient.

Harris entered his first title at Stationers' Hall, April 6, 1674:

> The Saints Looking-glasse exposed to view, in the most exemplary life and triumphant death of that pious and painfull minister of the Gospell, Mr. James Jemeway lately deceassed; to wch is added words of life from a dyeing man, or his last legacy of precious experiences and soule saveing direccons and advice, bequeathed to all but especially those of ye younger sort.[1]

The book must have been somewhat of the catch-penny order, for it is not even mentioned in the sketch of Dr. Janeway in the *Dictionary of National Biography.* Janeway was the author or compiler of one of the popular readings of the day — *Account of the Conversion, holy and exemplary*

[1] Eyre and Rivington, II. 479.

Lives and joyful Deaths of several young Children — originally published in 1671, and a second part in 1672, a work which has been frequently reprinted and still enjoys reputation.[1] The contents are rather morbid stuff for the young, though they were greatly popular among the ministers on both sides of the ocean. How far Harris was responsible for selecting such a work as his first introduction to the London book market can only be measured by his subsequent issues and active participation in the great controversy between the English and the Roman churches. Yet even here it is unsafe to assume that any deep conviction on his part led him to publish religious writings.[2]

He is next found in the *Term Catalogues* for February, 1674–75, with four titles:

Darkness Vanquished, or Truth in its primitive Purity; being an Answer to a late Book of Mr. Henry Danvers,[3] intituled, 'A Treatise of laying on of Hands.' Wherein his mistakes and cloudy apprehensions about it are rectified, his grand Objections answered, etc. By B. R. In Octavo. Price bound, 1s.

Love to the Life, or Some Meditations upon loving, and washing in the blood of *Christ;* together with a taste of Gospel-Promises, as the Churches Stock, or Believers' Patrimony. By R. M. In Twelves.

The Parable of the Kingdom of Heaven expounded, or An Exposition of the first thirteen Verses of the 25th Chapter of *Matthew*. By Han. Knollys. In Octavo. Price, bound, 1s. All three printed for Ben. Harris in *Sweeting's Alley*, in *Cornhill*.[4]

The Accomplished Ladies Delight in Preserving, Physick, Beautifying, and Cookery; Containing, 1. The Art of Preserving and Candying Fruits and Flowers, and the making of all sorts of Conserves, Syrups, and Gellies. 2. The Physical Cabinet, or Excellent Receipts in Physick and Chirurgery, etc. 3. The Compleat Cook's Guide, or Directions for the Dressing all sorts of Flesh,

[1] It was reprinted in Boston in 1700, with additions by Cotton Mather, to whom naturally it greatly appealed.

[2] More significant is his long connection with Keach, but commercial reasons rather than convictions must have entered into their relations.

[3] Died in 1687, an anabaptist and politician. His book was published in 1674.

[4] *Term Catalogues* (Arber), I. 195. February, 1674–75. A copy of the Knollys is in the American Antiquarian Society, from Cotton Mather's Library.

Fowl, and Fish, both in the English and French Mode; with all Sawces, Sallets, etc. Price, bound, 2s. 6d. Printed for Ben Harris in *Sweeting's Alley,* in *Cornhill.*[1]

Anima Astrologiæ, or A Guide for Astrologers; being the considerations of the Famous Guido Bonatus, faithfully rendred into English [by H. Coley?]. As also the choicest Aphorisms of [Jérôme] Cardan's seven Segments, translated, and Methodically digested under their proper Heads. With a New Table of the fixed Stars. By Will. Lilly, Student in Astrology. In Octavo. Price, bound, 1s. 6d.

Mentis Humanæ Metamorphosis, sive Conversio. The History of the young converted Gallant, or Directions to the Readers of the Divine Poem, written by *Benj. Keach,* entituled, 'War with the Devil.' In a Poem by J[ohn] Mason, Gent., of *Fordham* in *Cambridgeshire.*[2] In Octavo. Price, bound, 1s. 6d.[3]

The Grand Impostor discovered, or The Quakers' Doctrine weighed in the Ballance, and found wanting: in a Dialogue between a young Convert and a Quaker. By the same Author, B[enj.] K[each]. In Octavo. Price, bound, 1s. All three Printed for, and sold by, Benj. Harris at the Stationers' Arms in *Sweeting's* Rents, near the Royal Exchange.[4]

Blessed Rest for the Burthened Sinner, or The only Center of the Soul. Wherein is discovered, 1. Who is he that invites and calls Sinners to this Rest. 2. The Encouragements to come unto him for Rest. 3. Many obstructions and impediments which keep back sinners; with their unreasonableness, answered. 4. The Rest that every one shall have that comes unto Christ. Delivered in some Sermons at first; yet since some addition and enlargement has been made to them. By John Hopwood. Preacher of the Gospel. In Twelves. Price, bound, 2s. 6d.

A Summons to the Grave, or The necessity of a timely Preparation for Death. Demonstrated in a Sermon preached at the Funeral of that most eminent and faithful servant of *Jesus Christ,* Mr. *John Norcot.* By Benjamin Keach. In Octavo. Price, bound, 8d.

[1] *Term Catalogues* (Arber), I. 198.

[2] In the *Stationers' Register* the name of the writer is not given, but reads: "Compiled in a poem per Veriloquum, a lover and teller of truth."

[3] The *Ladies Delight,* Lilly's and Keach's works were entered at Stationers' Hall October 1, 1675. Eyre and Rivington, III. 4.

[4] *Term Catalogues* (Arber), I. 221. November, 1675. There was an evolution in his status as publisher. He is first described as in Bell Alley, Coleman Street; then he removed to Sweeting's Alley or Rents, in Cornhill, and by 1678 he has a symbol for his shop — the Stationers' Arms.

The Beauty, Vigour, and Strength, of Youth bespoke for God. In a Sermon lately preached to young men. By Thomas Powell. In Octavo. Price, bound, 6d. All three printed for Benjamin Harris at the Stationers' Arms in *Sweeting's* Alley, in *Cornhill*.[1]

Rich *Redivivus*, or Mr. Jeremiah Rich's Short-hand improved, in a more brief and easie method than hath been set forth by any heretofore; now made publick for general advantage. Sold by Benj. Harris at the Stationers' Arms in *Sweeting's Alley*, in *Cornhill*.[2]

[A new issue of The Accomplished Ladies Delight, but it was printed for N. Crouch as well as for Harris.][3]

[A new edition of War with the Devil — The Fifth Impression: to which is now added a Second Part by the same Author, B. Keach.][4]

Of the Causes and Cure of sad Disconsolate Thoughts in Christians. By one of their sympathizing Fellow Members, W. Fraughton. In Twelves. Price, bound, 8d.

The Spirit of Delusion reproved, or The Quakers' Cause fairly heard, and justly condemned. Being an Answer to *W. Penn, G. Fox, G. Whitehead, G. Keith, E. Burroughs*, and several others the most leading men among them. Wherein their horrid Perversion, and false and dangerous Interpretations, of above Fifty distinct Texts of Holy Scripture are plainly evinced. By Tho. Wilson, Rector of *Arrow* in *Warwickshire*. In Octavo. Both printed for B. Harris at the Stationers' Arms in Sweeting's Rents, in Cornhill.[5]

[1] *Ib.*, 244. June, 1676.

[2] *Ib.*, 275. May, 1677. Rich did not originate the system of shorthand but appropriated one that had come to him from his uncle, William Cartwright.

[3] *Ib.*, 285. July, 1677.

[4] *Ib.*, 305. February, 1678.

[5] *Ib.*, 310. May, 1678. In George Keith's *The Rector Corrected: or, the Rector of Arrow, Shooting His Arrow Beside the Mark. . . .* London, Printed in the Year 1680, is found the following:

"An Advertisement to the Reader

"Friendly Reader,

"*The occasion of these Lines is the Disingenuity of* Benjamin Harris *Book-seller, his making or causing to be made, a New Title to his Old Book; because he could not sell it off according to his expectation, and thereby hath wrong'd the Author, by making him promise in the Title, what was not made out in the Book, and abused his Reader by a Title insignificant to the matter: for the Title made by the Author, was;* The *Quakers* false Interpretations of the Scriptures, *which the Author saith in the Beginning of his Book,* shall be his only Subject. *The Title added is,* The Spirit of Delusion reproved, or the *Quakers* Cause fairly Heard, and Justly Condemned, being an Answer to *William Penn,* &c. *whose Name*

The Life and Death of Mother [*Ursula*] *Shipton;* being not only a true account of her strange Birth, and most important passages of her Life; but also all her Prophesies, now newly Collected, and Historically experienced from the time of her Birth in the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh until the year 1677. In Quarto. Printed for B. Harris at the Stationers Arms in *Sweeting's* Rents.[1]

A Narrative and Impartial Discovery of the Horrid Popish Plot carried on for the Burning and Destroying the Cities of *London* and *Westminster,* with their Suburbs, etc. Setting forth the several Consults, Orders, and Resolutions, of the Jesuites, etc. concerning the same: and divers Depositions and Informations relating thereunto, never before printed. By Capt. William Bedloe, largely engaged in that Horrid Design; and one of the Popish Committee for carrying on such Fires. Price, sticht, 1s. Printed for Robert Boulter, John Hancock, Ralph Smith, and Benjamin Harris, Booksellers in *Cornhill,* near the Royal Exchange.[2]

With that entry of a work of startling import, the name of Benjamin Harris disappears from the *Term Catalogues* for eighteen years. He also disappears from the *Stationers' Registers* for a period. On January 4, 1677–78, he had entered the title of a chap-book appealing to the morbidly curious:

God's miraculous revenge against murder; being a relation of undoubted truth out of the West, How the skull of a person murdered about thirty yeares agoe in an Inn, was found with a linen capp thereon still whole, with the two letters wherewith 'twas mark't plain to be seen, though it had lain soe many yeares in ye Earth &c.[3]

Not for five years is Harris to be found in the *Stationers' Registers* and not before 1697 did he reappear in the *Term Catalogues,* when he again comes before us with a Keach item.

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upon due search, I cannot find in the Book, much less his Cause fairly Heard, and justly Condemned; *however, if* B. H. *would have recalled his Title,* or have acknowledged his abuse, he might have saved this publick Reproof, and have been just to his Author, to Vs, and the World.] That the Reader might know the two Titles this Book went by, I give him this Caution."

[1] *Ib.,* 316.

[2] *Ib.,* 358. June, 1679.

[3] Eyre and Rivington, III. 54.

To 1679 he was in appearance more concerned with the Devil, that perpetual enemy of mankind, than with any matter of state concern. The Quakers could be displayed with safety and Mother Shipton or the *Accomplished Ladies Delight* was not easily interpreted in political terms so as to involve him in the controversies of the day. Bedloe's plot was of quite another color. The memory of Titus Oates was still vivid, making public opinion on things papistical extremely sensitive. The fact that Bedloe's *Narrative* was issued by four booksellers of reputation indicates its importance and timeliness as a speculation. Yet no good can be spoken of the author, who came dangerously near equalling Oates in treachery to all concerned with him.[1] Harris' connection with the Bedloe tract is of interest to us because it marks his entry into a troubled course of controversial publishing that strongly affected his career and was the cause of his migration to Boston. For having tasted notoriety in the *Narrative,* the sip was responsible for Harris' setting up a newspaper in the Protestant cause and publishing a pamphlet on state policy that brought him into opposition to authority.

A newspaper, appearing twice a week, might succeed, if only it was sufficiently extreme to get the support of a faction or to acquire enough notoriety to suffer persecution, it mattered little from what quarter. The long succession of short-lived journals of this kind that appeared and died in London after 1640 is good evidence that small capital, either in money or in talent, was needed to start a venture, and the survival of the few pointed rather to some fortunate chance or to some powerful supporter than to merit. It would be an interesting question to determine how far the publisher was responsible for the contents of his news-sheet. Probably the responsibility was not great, for items of news could be clipped from other published sources and a few zealous correspondents could supply notes calculated to excite wonder or keep alive the fires of controversy. The abnormal and the controversial — have they not always been the principal food of the newspaper?

[1] The *Dictionary of National Biography* is sufficiently full on Bedloe, who died in the summer of 1680, while Harris was in prison.

Here again we are without any definite explanation of the course taken by Harris. Anti-Pope he is from the start, and he lends his possible strength to the protestant cause. In the summer of 1679 his plans were completed, and on Monday, July 9, the first number of his news-sheet appeared, with the title *Domestick Intelligence, Or News both from City and Country.* "Published to prevent false reports." [1] Between July, 1679, and January 18, 1680, fifty-five numbers were issued "at the Stationers Arms in the Piazza under the Royal Exchange in Cornhill." The title was then changed to *The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence,* etc., and continued somewhat erratically until April 15, 1681, when it ended with No. 114. Between April 16 (No. 82), and December 28, 1680 (No. 83), an interval of eight months, no paper was issued.[2] Such accidents were not of infrequent occurrence in days of attempted censorship.

The cause of this temporary suspension I have related in the *Boston Book Market,* 1679–1700, and the pamphlet dedicated to Scroggs [3] was the only evidence of feeling on the part of Harris, eloquent indeed, for the evident injustice done him by that unspeakable judge. The paper, in resuming its issues in December, contained the following notice, evidently penned in a chastened spirit:

[1] A full file of this newspaper is in the British Museum (Burney, 80). A few sets were reproduced by photostat by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[2] May 12, 1680, was issued a royal proclamation on news-sheets, sweeping in its character and marking annoyance at the liberty taken by the printers of news. It is probable that the proclamation was determined upon after some weeks of inquiry and that Harris sensed coming trouble. His error, however, was in being sponsor for the Blount tract. The proclamation reads in part: "Whereas it is of great importance to the State, That all News Printed and Published to the People, as well concerning Foreign as Domestick Affairs, should be agreeable to Truth, or at least Warranted by good Intelligence, that the minds of His Majesties Subjects may not be disturbed or amased by Lyes or vain Reports, which are many times raised on purpose to Scandalize the Government or for other indirect ends: And Whereas of late many Evil-disposed Persons have made it a common Practice to Print and Publish Pamphlets of News, without licence or authority," etc. It was one of those threats framed to use should occasion demand, but incapable of general application. The more severe the regulation the greater the resort to the unlawful and the printing press revels in twitting the impotency of the state to suppress it.

[3] Page 57, *infra.*

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

These are humbly to acquaint all well-affected Protestants, *That it is thought fit to revive this* Intelligence, *hoping therein it may not give offence to any, not in the least intending to meddle with any thing, that may be any ways prejudicial to* State-Affairs *or any* private Persons, *but to proceed with all Modesty and Moderation imaginable; only to recite such* Common Occurences *as shall happen for the Satisfaction of all good* Protestant Subjects.

Even when printing his weekly Harris reached out for public favor through another sheet and fell into further difficulties. On December 19, 1679, he printed No. 1 of *Mercurius Domesticus; or Newes both from City and Country. Published to prevent false reports.* Unfortunately for him the truth, or what he put out as truth, was not acceptably received by the authorities. His first issue contained some scandal about Nell Gwynne, and as no second number was printed it may be assumed that the paper was suppressed. A copy of No. 1 is in the British Museum (Burney Collection).

As a taste of the amenities of journalism in 1681 the following is taken from the *Intelligence* of January 25, and bears every evidence of being a product of Harris:

London, Friday 21. 1680. About nine at night, there was sent to the Publisher of this *Intelligence,* by the Penny-Post, a Pacquet, wherein several Libels, (which 'tis said have since been clandestinely given away, like quacking Doctors pocky Bills, in most of the WESTERN parts of the Town) and unto which was forged his *Name* and *Sign,* as if they had been printed for him; wherefore finding it a *Popish Sham,* (that Traytorous Faction having since the *Dissolution* of Parliament assum'd liberty for all kinds of Insolence) he instantly repaired to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, and shewed him the said Libels, making Oath how the same came to him, and that he was no further privy thereunto.

As to the matter of the Libel it self, there is some little profane *wit* to colour abundance of *Popish Venom;* for as it scandalizes (without the least ground divers most eminent Protestant Peers, as the D[uke] of *M[onmouth]* the Earl of *Shaftsbury, (that constant Mote in a Papist's eye)* the Earl of *Essex,* the Lord *Gerrard,* Sir *Gilbert Gerrard,* and others, so it ridicules with a *forged*

foolish story that our *English* Princes have for many Ages solemnly practised, and cannot forbear squinting reflections, to expose the Protestant Religion in general: wherefore if any person can legally discover the *Scribler,* Hander to the Press, *Printer,* or any Publisher of any of those scandalous Papers, they shall be well rewarded: For though *Touzer*[1] be again come out of his hiding Kennel in *Masquerade,* and begins to snarl and bark, yet 'tis but in vain, for the men of *England* will not now be *bubbled* with such paltry, skulking, forging *Knaves;* so that the shabby, contemptible *Author* (whose necessities makes his *wit* just as *keen* as his *stomack,* and his *Invention* as productive of *Libels,* as an expectant Courtier or damn'd Poets Doublet is of the Grey slow-pac'd *Scotch* Regiment) must wait for his expected reward, till the first year of the Reign of a *Popish Successor;* whilst instead of the reversion of *Colemans* place, 'tis *forty* to *one* but he meets with the same Wretches fate, and dies with a *Curse* against *Mac's* fair promises, between his teeth.

One of the curiosities of the journalism of that day was the fact that two entirely distinct sheets could be published under precisely the same name. Nathaniel Thompson, a publisher of some notoriety, with a shop next the Cross-Keys in Fetter Lane, began to issue, even before Harris had printed his first number, *The Domestic Intelligence: or News both from City and Country.* No. 15 appeared in August, 1679, and No. 19 carried a title slightly altered — *The True Domestic Intelligence,* running to May, 1680, when it again changed its name to *The Loyal Protestant, and True Domestick Intelligence,* etc., and, beginning a new series, printed 247 issues between March 9, 1681 and March 20, 1683. The final modification in name occurred a few weeks before Harris' sheet expired. Three weeks later, another printer, Thomas Benskins, began to print in St. Bride's churchyard *The Domestick Intelligence: Or News both from City and Country Impartially Related.*[2] No connection whatever can be traced among the rival printers and the news-sheets are wholly different publications. They had in common a certain violence of partisanship, but that was a commodity too generally distributed to be a mark of distinction.

[1] A name for Roger L'Estrange.

[2] It ran from May 13, 1681, to November 16, 1682 — 155 numbers.

It is not as a journalist that I wish to study Harris, but as a publisher of books. His paper was like a dozen other sheets issued in London, having some influence, but its position could only be developed by a careful comparison with its competitors, and for this the material does not exist in the United States. Like other booksellers he advertised his own wares in his own columns, and using his advertisements to supplement the entries in Stationers' Hall and in the *Term Catalogues,* quite an imposing list of his publications, before and after his stay in Boston, can be compiled.[1] Such a list is now offered, without any pretence to finality, and merely as a contribution to the career of this Massachusetts bookseller.

One of the titles deserves more than passing notice, *The Protestant Tutor,* for it throws some light on that ever-interesting book, the *New England Primer,* of which Harris has, I believe mistakenly, come to be regarded as the author. The detailed list of contents of the *Protestant Tutor,* the assumed forerunner of the *New England Primer,* does not suggest a very close connection between the two. My brother, Paul, saw a copy of the *Protestant Tutor* of 1679 [i.e. 1680] and wrote:

> Here was the usual portrait of the reigning sovereign as a frontispiece, and portions of the text were the 'Roman Small Letters,' the Syllabarium, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the John Rogers biography and verses, though not the famous picture of the martyr at the stake, the words of from two to seven syllables, the Proper Names, and a catechism, together with much other material for the benefit of youth and the injury of Papacy.[2]

[1] During the period covered by his newspaper Harris' name does not appear in the *Term Catalogues,* and yet he seems to have been quite active as a publisher.

[2] *The New England Primer* (1899), 34, where the title is reproduced. The text of the title is surrounded by five coarsely executed wood-cuts, representing "The Burning of London by the Papists," "Murdering of Kings," "Gunpowder Trap" (or Trayt. ?), "Cruelty" (burning at the stake), and "Popery."

The title reads: The | Protestant | Tutor. | Instructing Children | to spel and read En- | glish, and Ground- | ing them in the True | Protestant Religion | and Discovering the | Errors and Deceits | of the Papists. [Under the blocks:] London: Printed for Ben Harris under the Piazza | of the Royal Exchange at Cornhill, 1679.

Harris must have found his interest in the *Tutor,* for it was advertised frequently in his paper and in January, 1681, he announced that it was "now Reprinted; Dedicated to the Right Honorable James Earl of Doncaster and Dalkeith: Eldest Son to the Most Illustrious Protestant Prince James Duke of Monmouth." The contents were otherwise the same except for the omission of the concluding Prayers and Graces. The advertisement of this reprint continued: "Highly approved of by all the Protestant Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty, to be used in all Protestant Schools as an Antidote against Popery." The price bound was reduced from eight to six pence.[1] From the emphasis laid on the dedication that was not in the first issue of the *Tutor* of 1680 and marks the second or reprint of 1681. The dedication is of some importance for the pamphlet which caused Harris to be imprisoned and fined advocated the succession of Monmouth to the throne, on the ground that "he who has the worst title makes the best king."[2] It came from the press at a time when Monmouth's chances seemed so fair that his adherents did not hesitate to claim for him power to cure the King's evil by touch, positive proof of his royal prerogatives![3] The son, object of the dedication, lived a life of little mark and in 1693 married Henrietta, daughter of Lawrence Hyde, first earl of Rochester.

The *Tutor* is redolent of the Popish Plot and for the small price supplied a goodly series of thrills and sensations for the mind of youth just learning to read. Under such gentle admonition the young reader could hardly become other than a persecuting bigot and, taken in connection with shocking stories of judgments on wayward children and edifying tales of the elect, it threatened to destroy the enjoyment of life due to the young, without giving definite hope of compensa-

[1] *The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence,* February 1, 1680 [–81]. In the issue of February 25 the advertisement read "all Protestant Schools and Families." The last appearance of the notice was on April 1 and the last issue of the newspaper was made April 15.

[2] *An Appeal from the Country to the City,* attributed to Robert Ferguson, but written by Charles Blount.

[3] The power to cure was also claimed for Mrs. Fanshaw, a "sister" of Monmouth. She may have been Mary, a daughter born of the connection of Charles II with Lucy Walters. Her performance is described in a contemporary broadside.

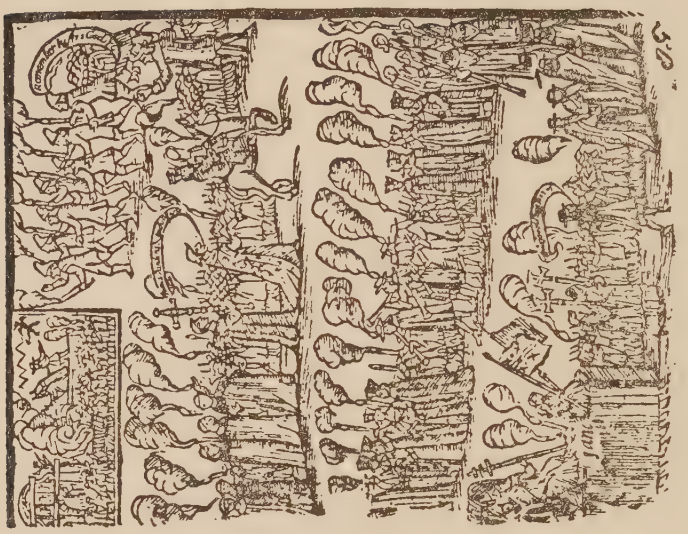
tion in the hereafter. Fortunately the sturdy common sense of the English, both in old and in new England, enabled the dose to be taken with only a modicum of injury. Perhaps it strengthened desirable qualities of mind at the expense of weaknesses. There is beauty even in distortion.

The American Antiquarian Society has just secured a part of an early London edition of the *Protestant Tutor*. It can hardly be called a " fragment " and enough remains to permit a reasonably full comparison with the contents of the work as given in the advertisement. I conclude from this comparison that it is not the first edition, for that did not have the dedication to James, Earl of Doncaster and Dalkeith, and ended with Prayers, as did the second edition. It may have been a third edition, appearing after 1681 and probably before 1686, when Harris sailed for Boston. At all events, it is the earliest known issue of the *Tutor* after that of 1679, seen by my brother. While a correspondingly early edition of the *New England Primer* is not known, I believe it is safe to say that very little was drawn from, or even suggested by the *Tutor,* and I am of opinion that too much credit is given to the *Tutor* as the forerunner of the Primer.

The Antiquarian Society copy lacks the title and one or more preliminary leaves. It was printed in 32's and as signature B is on page 21 there should be eleven unnumbered pages before the first numbered page. Working backward from page 1 we have:

[xii] Cut representing the burning of the Pope
[ix–xi] The Preface
[viii] The Epistle Dedicatory

Pages [vii] and [viii] are as far back as we can go. Allowing [i] and [ii] for the title there remain two leaves or four pages to be accounted for and these all may have been in " The Epistle Dedicatory." The copy runs to page 170, and has two leaves of unnumbered pages. These are described below and the catch word on the last page shows that the work is incomplete. A full signature would require at least 180 pages and in that case six pages would be missing — the same number as is wanting in the front.



Popish tyranny • and • Cruelty •

In detail this copy may be built up as follows, remembering that it begins with page [vii]:

Title. [i–ii]

The Epistle Dedicatory [iii?–viii]. Signed, *Benjamin Harris.*

The Preface. | To all *Protestant Parents, School-Masters* | and *School-Mistresses* of children, | Greeting. [ix–xi]. Signed, *Benj. Harris.*

Cut of the burning of the Pope [xii] Signed, J. G.

An Account of the Burning the Pope *at* | Temple-Bar *in* London, *November* | 17. 1679. 1–7.

The Roman small Letters [etc.] 8–10.

The Lords Prayer, The Creed, The Ten Com-mand-ments and the X Commandments *Paraphras'd.* 11–16.

Lessons for CHILDREN, | *Di-vi-ded into Di-stinct Syl-* | *la-bles.* [Sixteen Lessons.] 17–35.

Mr. *John Rogers,* Minister of St. *Sepulchers* | Church in *London,* was the first Martyr . . . [with his Exhortation sent to his children] 35–42.

The Prayer of King *Edward* the Sixth | at his death. 43.

Cut of " Popish tyrañy-and-Cruelty." [44]

A Prospect of *POPERY,* | or, | *A short View of the Cruelties, Treasons, and Mas-* | *sacres committed by the* Papists *since the begin-* | *ning of the Reign of Queen* Mary. 45–48.

The Spanish Invasion *by the* Pa- | pists *in the Year* 1588. 48– [pp. 51–56 are missing, which included " The Gunpowder Treason " of which the last paragraph is on page] 57.

The Massacre of Ireland, *acted by the Papists upon* | *the Protestants in that Kingdom in the Year* | 1642. 57–61.

Cut of " a masecree " and " London in Flames." 62.

The Massacre of Paris, *acted by the* French | Papists *upon the* Protestants *in that King-* | *dom, and the Cruelties of the* Papists | *since in* Piedmont, Lithuania *and* Poland, | *in the Year* 1655 and 1656. 63–67.

The Burning of London *by the Pa-* | *pists,* Septemb. 2. 1666. 67–70.

The Monument. [With a cut.] 71.

Cuts of Dr. Titus Oates and Captain William Bedloe, and of " S^{r} Edmondbury-god | Free strangle^{d} 72.

A Brief Account of the Horrid and Damma- | *ble Plot in the Year* 1678. *Contrived by* | *the Papists for the Murdering of his Ma-* | *jesty, Destruction of the* Protestant *Religi-* | *on, and Overthrowing of the Government* | *by Law Established. With a Re-*

a masacree
London in Flames

Dr. Titus Oats. Captain William Bedloe.
Sr. Edmondbury god
free strangle d

lation of the | Murder of Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey. 73–80 [pp. 81–84 are missing and the "Brief Account" is incomplete and the first part of a "Scripture Dialogue between Dives and Lazarus in Verse" is wanting, the last page of it being] 85.

Words and Proper Names from Two | to Seven Sillables, both whole and divided into Sillables, for the more | easie Instructing of Children in True | Spelling. 86–99.

A | Catechism 100–115.

A Little Book of | MARTYRS, | or, | The HISTORY of the KINGS | of *ENGLAND*. with an Ac- | count of the Cruelties exercised by | the POPE and his *Clergy*, for se- | veral Hundred Years. 116–134.

The Threefold State of a Christian | Discovered, *viz.* By Nature, by | Grace, and in Glory. 134–141.

A DIALOGUE Between | An Apostate to the Church of *ROME*, | And a Young PROTESTANT. 142–170.

A COPY-BOOK. 2 unnumbered pages of cuts. [171–172.]

Directions for Writing. 1 unnumbered page [173.]

The Figures and Numeral Letters. 1 unnumbered page [174], with catch word No [?].

That the nature and quality of the illustrations may be seen, the four pages are reproduced.

I have in another place called attention to a search in England for the *New England Primer* entered at Stationers' Hall in October, 1683 by John Gaine, nearly three years before Harris went to Boston in New England, where he printed a book with that title between 1687 and 1690.[1] So a *Protestant Tutor* was printed in Boston before Harris had reached that town and contained matter to be found in Harris' *Protestant Tutor* of 1680. It was printed in Boston by Samuel Green, for John Griffin, a bookseller of that town. Griffin had not published much, only three titles under his name being known, and even the location of his shop has not been established. In 1685 he brought out *The Protestant Tutor, for Children.* A single copy, fragmentary and much broken, has survived and is in the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester.[2] It contains however only two divisions, a catechism and "Mr. Roger's Verses," the latter

[1] *Boston Book Market*, 1679–1700, 30.

[2] Evans, 387, for some cause, attributes it to Benjamin Keach, but speaks of Harris as possible author of the "first London Edition" of 1679.

in the text later used in the *New England Primer*. There is nothing to indicate that it was to take the place of a school book, from which spelling could be learned, and the catechism is not the Assembly Catechism which appears in the earliest known copy of the *New England Primer*. It is, however, the "Catechism against Popery" listed in the contents of Harris' London publication, for it opens:

1. Quest. *What Religion do you profess?*
Ans. The Christian Religion commonly called the Protestant, in opposition to Popery.

With that promising opening it continues with general questions, each answer being introduced by a text from Scripture. The animus may be seen from the following:

8. Q. *Is the church of* Rome *Mother and Mistress of all Churches?*
A. No, *Gal.* 4. 26. But *Jerusalem* which is above is free, which is the Mother of us all.
9. Q. *Ought we firmly to receive and embrace all customs and constitutions of the* Roman *Church?*
A. No, Act. 15. 28. 29. For it seemed good unto the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than those necessary things: that they abstain from Meats offered to Idols, and from Blood, and from things strangled, and from Fornication. . . .
11. Q. *Do you not dread the Popes Bulls?*
A. No, *Mark* 16. 16. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.
12. *Q. Hath the Pope authority to depose Kings.*
A. No, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. 14. 25. Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lords sake: whether it be to the King as supream, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God.
13. Q. *May the* Pope *absolve us from the oath of Allegiance?*
A. No, *Eccles.* 8. 2. Keep the King's Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God.
14. Q. *May the* Pope *dispense with Gods Commands?*
A. No, *Mat.* 5. 19. Whosoever shall break one of these least Commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven.

15. Q. *Have* Peter-pence *their Original from* Peter?
A. No, *Act.* 3. 6. Peter said, Silver and Gold have I none. . . .
19. Q. *Is the* Pope *right*[ly termed] *his Holiness?*
A. No, 2 *Thess.* 2, 3. Th[at Man] of Sin.
20. Q. *Is the* Popes *power* [*from God*] *or from Satan?*
A. Satan, *Rev.* 13. 2. [The Dra]gon gave him his Power, and his Seat, and great Authority.

Then follow leading questions on the worship of images, Angels, a crucifix or relics of Saints, on prayers to the Virgin Mary or saints, on salvation and on bought pardons, closing with a denunciation of Rome as the beast of Revelation. All of which is familiar reading in the tracts of the close of the seventeenth century. Yet the catechism is free of any reference to the cruelties perpetrated by the Roman Catholics on protestants, singly or collectively, to which Harris gave so large a part of his *Protestant Tutor.* Not that the child of New England was in the long run permitted to be free from horrors, for the *Day of Doom* made up for any absence of them. The difference was, however, essential. Harris directed the child's hate and horror against an external enemy, and that is a feeling easy to satisfy either by committing some act of violence against the enemy or, in the absence of opportunity, by nursing the hostility. Wigglesworth's poem on the other hand wrought internally, on the nature of the child in its relations to itself and its own conscience, and could thus produce a more lasting and disastrous effect.

While the Boston *Protestant Tutor* did take its two items from Harris' *Protestant Tutor,* neither appeared in the first issue of the *New England Primer,* made by Harris. The catechism against Popery was thrown out from the start and the " verses made by Mr. Rogers " and the " Prayer of K Edward the 6th " were only added to the *Primer* in its second issue as advertised in Newman's *News from the Stars,* 1690. The " Prayer " soon dropped out and the Rogers' " Verses " remained a permanent feature, in all succeeding issues of the little tract. To claim for Harris the whole credit of the *Primer* seems more than the facts will bear, for

Griffin had circulated one of the most, if not the most, characteristic feature — the Rogers verses, and a catechism, which was quite out of place in New England. The essential feature of Harris' *Primer* was its text-book quality.

From the columns of the *Domestick Intelligence* I gather the following publications by Harris:

1679

July 14. [Bedloe's *Narrative* of the Popish Plot. The announcement states that it had "lately" been published.]

July 31 *There is lately published a Treatise called* John *the* Pilgrim, *or a Dialogue between two* Pilgrims *in their Progress to* Eternal Glory. *Directing all* Christians *in the plainway to* Everlasting Happiness, *to which is added a Divine Dialogue between* Christ *and a* Christian, *with Ejaculations and Meditations thereupon. Printed for* Benjamin Harris *at the* Stationers *Arms under the* Piazza *of the* Royal Exchange *in* Cornhill.

September 9. Mystical Babylon Unveiled. Wherein is Proved, 1. That *Rome*-papal is Mystical *Babylon.* 2. The Pope of *Rome* is the Beast. 3. That the Church of *Rome* is the great Whore. 4. That the *Roman* Priests are the False Prophets. Also a Call to all the People of God to come out of *Babylon.* By *Hanserd Knollys,* a Servant of Jesus Christ. Sold by Benj. Harris, etc.

September 23. *Come* and *Welcome,* to Jesus Christ. Or a plain and profitable Discourse upon the sixth of *John,* 37 *Verse.* . . . Written by *J. Bunyan* Author of the *Pilgrim's Progress.*

October 14. Some Discovery of the New Heavens, and the New Earth. Also of the Earnest Expectation of the Creature, to be delivered from its Bondage, into the Glorious Liberty of the Children of God. Together with some Hints wherein it will consist: Gathered out of the *Holy Scriptures.* As also a Guess at the time wherein it may probably be expected. Together with the Profitable uses to be made of it. By William Allin, lately deceased. *London* Printed for *Benjamin Harris,* etc.

October 17. An Essay for *Englands* Information, Reformation, great Joy, Peace, and Consolation; And for her great Honour, and Exaltation, and for the great Shame, Contempt and Terror of the Turk, the Pope and the Devil, and all the Workers of Evil. Sold by Benjamin Harris.

1680

January 2. *There is newly published a Pack of Cards, containing an History of all the Popish Plots that have been in England;*

beginning with those in Queen Elizabeths *time, and ending with this last damnable Plot against His Majesty* Charles II: *Excellently engraven on Copper Plates, with very large descriptions under each card. The like not extant. Sold by* Randal Taylor *near* Stationers Hall, *and* Benjamin Harris *at the* Stationers Arms *under the Royal* Exchange *in* Cornhil.

Whereas some Persons who care not what they say so they can get by it, lying being as Essential to them as eating, have endeavoared to asperse a pack of Cards, (*which contains an History of all the* Popish *Plots that have been in* England, *from Queen* Elizabeths *time, to the last horrid Plot against His present Majesty*) *intimating that they do not answer what is proposed, the contrary is Evident to any person who shall peruse them. They are sold by* Randal Taylor *near* Stationers Hall, *and* Benjamin Harris *in the* piazza *of the* Royal Exchange *in* Cornhil.[1]

January 9. *The Exact Constable, with his Original, and Power in all Cases belonging to his Office, As also the Office of* Church-Wardens, Overseers *of the Poor,* Surveyors *of the* High-waies, Treasurers *of the County Stock, Parish* Clerks, *Governors of* Fairs, *and other inferior officers, as they are at this day established, both by the* Common Laws *and* Statutes *of this Kingdom,* By E. W[ingate] *of* Grays-Inn, Esq; *Whereunto is added the Office of a* London *Constable. Printed for* Henry Brome, Thomas Passenger, *and* Thomas Sawbridge, *and are to be Sold by* Benjamin Harris, etc.

There is lately published an ingenious fancy, acceptable to many under the Title of the Tale of the Tubbs, *on* Romes *Masterpiece defeated, wherein is Represented in* Pictures *and* Poetry, *the late* Meal-Tub Villany, *in contriving to turn the Plot upon Protestant Peers, and others under the name of Presbyterians. Sold by* Benjamin Harris, etc. *And by most Booksellers in London.*[2]

January 30. The Holy Choice: *Or,* Faith's Triumph *over all Worldly* Pomp *and* Glory. *A* Sermon *preached* in St. *Maries in* Scilly *by* Nich. Phillips, *Twice Chaplain to his Majesties Garrison there, And Tendered at the Council-Table upon some Complaint,* Jan. 23. 1679. *Printed for* Benjamin Harris, etc.

[1] The British Museum has a card "The Plot first hatcht at Rome by the Pope and Cardinalls, &ct.," being the ace of hearts, giving 1678 as the year of issue.

[2] This was a broadside with colophon: Printed for the Loyal Protestant, at the Sign of the True Englishman in Great Britain, Nov. 11, 1679. See *Catalogue of Prints,* etc. in British Museum, 1. 608, where the lines are given in full. Swift completed his *Tale of a Tub* in 1697, and published it in 1704.

February 27. *There is lately Published by* Benjamin Harris, *a Book Intituled,* The Protestant Tutor, *Instructing Children to Spell and Read* English, *and Grounding them in the* True Protestant Religion, *and Discovering the Errors and Deceits of the* Papists, *wherein is Contained,* 1. *An Account of the Burning the Pope at* Temple-Bar, November 17. 1679. *with a Picture Describing the manner thereof.* 2. *Proper Lessons for Children, divided into distinct Sillables,* 3. *The Exhortation of Mr.* Rogers *the Martyr to his Children, some days before his Burning,* 4. *A Prospect of* Popery *containing the Treasons and Massacres Committed by the* Papists, *since the Reign of Queen* Mary, that is, 1. *An Account of the Martyrs that suffered in her days. The* Spanish Invasion *in* 1588. 3. *The* Gunpowder Treason. 4. *The* Massacre of Ireland. 5. *The* Massacres *Committed by the* Papists *in* Paris, Piedmont, Poland *and* Lithuania. 6. *The Burning of* London *by the* Papists *in* 1666. 7. *An Account of the Horrid and Damnable Plot Discovered by Dr.* Oates *and* Captain Bedlow, *in the Year* 1678, *with the Murder of Sr.* Edmondbury Godfrey, *with Pictures Representing the several Histories. To which are Added, a Scripture Dialogue between* Dives and Lazarus *in Verse. An Alphabetical Table for Dividing Words into Syllables. A Catechism against Popery; A* Compendium *of the Book of Martyrs in Verse, for several Hundred Years; The Three-fold State of a Christian, by Nature, by Grace, and in Glory; A short Account of the Variety of Popish* Tortures *Practised upon* Protestants, *with brief Remarks on the Wicked Lives of several Popes of Rome. Concluding with Prayers and Graces. And are to be Sold by* Benjamin Harris, *at his Shop at the* Stationers Arms *under the Piazza of the* Royal Exchange *in* Cornhil.[1] *Price Bound* 8d.

April 13. [A re-issue of The Accomplish'd Lady's Delight, in Preserving, Physick, Beautifying, and Cookery.]

December 28. Popery *Display'd in its proper Colours: wherein its Nonentity and Nullity is demonstrated by undeniable Arguments: with several Remarkable Passages relating to the present Times; humbly offered to the Honourable House of Commons. By* J. S. *Gent.* London, *Printed for* Benjamin Harris, at the Stationers *Arms in the* Piazza *under the* Royal Exchange, 1681.

There is now in the Press, and will speedily be Published The Report from the Committee of the Commons in Parliament, ap-

[1] The usual location of Harris' shop was "in the Piazza" and each issue of the *Domestick Intelligence* bore that imprint. Benjamin Billingsley, also a bookseller, described his own printing press at this time as "under the Piazza." *Domestick Intelligence.* February 10, 1679 [80.]

pointed by the Honourable House of Commons, to consider the Petition of Richard Thompson *of* Bristol *Clerk, and to Examine Complaints against him. And the Resolution of the Commons in Parliament upon this Report, for his Impeachment of High Crimes and Misdemeanors,* Friday, *Decemb.* 24. 1680. *Printed for* Benjamin Harris, . . . *and* Francis Smith *at the* Elephant *and* Castle *in* Cornhil. 1680.

1681

January 14. *The Triumphs of Justice over* Unjust Judges, *exhibiting.* 1. *The Names and Crimes of* Four and Forty Judges *hang'd in one year in* England, *as Murderers for their corrupt Judgments.* 2. *The Case of the Lord Chief Justice* Tresilian, *Hang'd at* Tyburn, *and all the rest of the Judges of* England (*save one Banisht in K.* Rich. *the* 2ds *Time.* 3. *The Crimes of* Empson *and* Dudly, *Executed in K.* Henry the 8ths *days.* 4. *The Proceedings of the Ship-money-Judges in the Reign of K.* Charles *the First.* 5. Divers *other Presidents, both* Antient *and* Modern. *To which is added,* 6. *The Judges* Oath, *and some Observations thereupon. Humbly Dedicated to the Lord Chief Justice* Scroggs. London, *Printed for* Benjamin Harris, etc.[1]

February 18. *There has been published this week a Half-sheet, Intituled,* The Weekly Discoverer Strip'd Naked: Or, Jest and Earnest expos'd to Publick View, &c. *which will come out every Wednesday and be sold by the Publisher of this Intelligence.*[2]

March 1. There is newly Published, A Scheme of Popish Cruelties: Or, A prospect of what we must expect under a Popish Successor. Lively Represented in a large Copper-Plate, by Ten several Figures. The first being that stately Monumental Pillar, Erected near London-Bridge, by Act of Parliament, to perpetuate the Memory of London's being burnt by Popish Treachery in the year 1666. The second Figure represents a City wilfully and treacherously set on Fire in divers parts. The third Figure represents Jesuites, Monks and Friars, ravishing and abusing of Women, &c. The fourth Figure represents Popish Villains beating out the brains of tender Infants, and putting their Mothers to the Sword. The fifth Figure represents the bloody Papists at their Long-intended Massacre, Cutting the Throats of the Protestants. The sixth Figure shows how the Great Guns in the Tower may

[1] This title page is reproduced in my *The Boston Book Market,* 1679–1700, 108.

[2] The "etc." stands for "in his proper colours." Five numbers were issued between February 16 and March 16, 1681, with Harris' usual colophon. A set of the numbers is in the British Museum.

be employ'd (when in the power of the Papists) to batter down Houses, Churches and Steeples about our Ears. The seventh Figure shews the Papists at their old sport of burning Martyrs for the True Religion. The eighth Figure represents an Invasion of French and Irish Papists, to bring in Popery. The ninth Figure shews the barbarous Cruelty of the Priests and Jesuits to Protestant Ministers. The tenth Figure shews the Procession of the Papists after they have destroyed the Protestants. Printed for N. Thomlinson, and are to be sold by Benjamin Harris at the Stationers-Arms in the Piazza under the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. Price Six-pence.

March 22. *Whereas several Ill-minded Persons* (*designing to undermine our true and honest Intentions*) *have from time to time, by several Stratagems, endeavoured to foist Lyes upon us, that the Truth may not be believed; and though not one in a hundred hath had their desired effect, yet such was our misfortune,* in our Intelligence of the 8th instant, *we were prevailed with by* Gilbert Beckett *living near the Sign of the* Three Compasses *at* London-Wall, *over against* New Bethlehem, *to insert a Relation from* Wiggon *in* Lancashire, *of Mr.* Jolly, *&c. which the said* Beckett *did aver; and also by several Asseverations affirm to have received in a Letter from his Brother, viz.* William Beckett *of* Farmby *near the aforesaid Wiggon, and produced the said Letter, or pretended one, in which was other indifferent matters relating to ordinary Occurrences in their Family. And also did affirm, that a Kinsman of his in* Holborn *had received a Letter to the same effect. Notwithstanding which, we being since credibly informed, that the Story is altogether Fictitious, do, out of Zeal to Truth, and Respect to the Reputation of Mr.* Jolly, *who, we are satisfied, is a very good Subject, and sincere Protestant, think it our Duty Publickly to Retract the same; it being most probable, that that Letter was Originally Forged by some Popish Priest, who set on* Beckett *to put the Story upon us, that they might have the greater pretence to clamor against our* Intelligence: *And although we were so unhappy as to give Credit to the Affirmations of that Villain, yet have we never wilfully inserted any thing False or Forged.*

April 15 (the last issue). Advertisements of *Popery Displayed, The Accomplish'd Lady's Delight,* and *A Scheme of Popish Cruelties.*

His intense hatred of Popery continued after his release from prison, for that had not been the cause of his punishment. December 27, 1682, he entered:

A new yeares gift for Protestants, or a looking glasse displaying the sweet face of Popery, in, Ist. The wicked principles. II. intollerable pride. III. Absurd prayers. IV. Ridiculous pennances. V. Lying miracles. VI. Horrid Treasons and cruelties. VII. Subtle excuses and sham plotts. VIII. Open filthinesse of Popes and Clergy of the Church of Roome, all taken from their owne authors, and digested into a dialogue betweene Hodge a Popish Tory and Timothy an honest Church of England whigg.[1]

A relacon of the fearfull estate of Francis Spira, after he turned apostate from the Protestt Church to Popery. Compiled by Nathl Bacon Esqr. To which are added sundry the like dreadfull examples of Gods Judgmts on persons of all degrees, that have for all degrees worldly interest, forsake the true religion wch once they professed togeather with that incomporable lamentation of the great Origen of his fall when he was again relieved into the church.[2]

Some of his old titles must have remained his property, for he reissued in March, 1683, *The accomplished Ladies Delight*.[3] Nor could he refrain from a venture in journalism; for he announced, March 22 of the same year, the publication of *Domestick Intelligence,* "published gratis every Thursday for the promoting of Trade."[4] On June 9, 1683, he enters his *Protestant Tutor, English Liberties or the free borne subjects inheritance contg. 1st. Magna Charta,* &c., and *The Nonconformists plea for the Conformist,*[5] a combination of titles on a mixture of politics and religion, which were indeed inextricably mixed or combined in the days of the Stuarts. In October, 1683, he published *Regall power asserted agt. papall and popular userpation,* and again recorded his freely distributed *Domestick Intelligence*.[6] Before six months had passed he brought forward two titles, both of earlier date, *Com and welcome to Jesus Christ with a new yeares for fainting souls,* and *The life and death of Mother Shipton*.[7] Was it policy to flatter the ruling mon-

[1] Eyre and Rivington, III. 118.
[2] Eyre and Rivington, III. 134.
[3] *Ib.*, 136, where the full title is given.
[4] *Ib.*, 137.
[5] *Ib.*, 161, 162.
[6] October 1. Eyre and Rivington, III. 197.
[7] *Ib.*, 228, 229.

arch? If so, Harris contributed his share by entering, May 28, 1684:

> The pious politician or, remaines of the royall martyr, being apothegmes and select maximes divine, morrall and politicall, left to posterity, by that incomporable prince our late soveraigne, King Charles the 1st.[1]

With this entry of May, 1684, the name of Benjamin Harris disappears from the *Stationers' Registers,* but his works, good or bad, seem to have survived his leaving England. Was the John Harris, who first appears on the Registers May 21, 1685, with a modest beginning, *A discourse upon the pharisee and the publicane,*[2] and who shows no little activity in publication for years,[3] some relative or connection of Benjamin Harris? The only reason for believing it is the recurrence of a title of one of Benjamin Harris' publications — *Come and wellcome to Jesus Christ,* by John Bunyan.[4] And the Sarah Harris who entered, March 8, 1689–90, two titles which were certainly once the property of Benjamin Harris, was she the wife? A scurrilous ballad issued in 1681 calls the wife Ruth, but that may be a blind. The two titles were, Keach's *Warre with the devil,* in a seventh impression, and our old acquaintance *The Protestant Tutor.*[5] In December, 1690, Sarah Harris re-enters another of Benjamin Harris' titles: *The English Liberties, or, the free borne subjects inheritance.*[6] But Harris' wife was certainly in Boston in 1695, with her son, Vavasour, for she is remembered in a letter of that year from Tulley, of almanac fame.[7] It is possible that she remained in England until 1690, yet it would be unsafe to draw any conclusions from so imperfect data. Beyond the name of one son, Vavasour, nothing is known of the family of the bookseller.

[1] *Ib.,* 239.

[2] Eyre and Rivington, III. 284.

[3] *Ib.,* 293, 297, 298, 310, 317, 329. The name is frequently found in the *Term Catalogues* (Arber), II, III. In 1692 he published a monthly, *The Present State of Europe,* from The Harrow in the Poultry.

[4] *Ib.,* 329. See p. 54, *supra.*

[5] *Ib.,* 370.

[6] Eyre and Rivington, III. 381.

[7] *Proceedings,* L. 77.

His English newspaper experience led him to attempt a repetition in Massachusetts, where news was still circulated by manuscript letters of the postmaster and no printed sheet had yet appeared. Unfortunately for him, Harris omitted to consult the authorities, and the first issue of *Publick Occurrences,* September 25, 1690, was also the last. The Governor, Simon Bradstreet, and the Council, wholly innocent of journalism of any kind, unless of an occasional sheet from England, concluded that the issue contained "reflections of a very high nature; as also sundry doubtful and uncertain reports," and with the customary short-sight of the official censor suppressed it. Such a judgment would apply with equal truth to any news-sheet or newspaper published since the beginning of printing. In itself the sheet promised well, and contained a larger amount of American news than could be found in an American newspaper in the first half of the eighteenth century. What drew out the disapprobation of the magistrates is not evident on the surface. It might have been the account of the misunderstanding between Major General Wait Winthrop and the government of New York, the intention of doing something "towards the curing, or at least the charming of that spirit of Lying, which prevails among us," or the threat to expose by name the "malicious raiser of a false report." In spite of the announcement that "memorable occurrents of Divine Providence" would receive prominent attention, Cotton Mather, an expert in such occurrences and a customer of the printer, wrote against the sheet. The principal result of this narrow-minded act on the part of the magistrates — probably supported by the clergy — was to postpone for fourteen years the regular issue of a newspaper in British America, and it was not then to Harris that the honor fell.[1]

Apart from this somewhat untoward incident which put an end to his journalistic ambition in Massachusetts Bay, Harris enjoyed an uneventful course of life in Boston, varied only by removals of place of business, reflecting, let

[1] He did, however, print in 1692 a pamphlet of news, with the somewhat misleading title: *Monthly Observations and Predictions for this present Year* 1692. It is difficult to say whether he intended to cover a news-sheet with an almanac title or to make an almanac more popular as a news-sheet.

us hope, the expansion of his trade. His publications for these years are given in Evans, except for some broadsides, and his life in America is sketched by Littlefield. He returned to London late in 1694 or early in 1695,[1] and after an absence of ten years found many changes in the trade, and himself a forgotten member of the craft. Chiswell, Hindmarsh and Aylmer were still publishing books in the "divinity" class, but new names both of writers and booksellers predominated. Even Keach's productions were issued by other hands. Harris, as printer and bookseller, opened a shop in Fore Street.[2] He is recorded only four times in the *Term Catalogues,* and his first title was that of a tract by his old-time favorite, Keach:

Christ alone the way to Heaven, or *Jacob's* Ladder improved; containing four Sermons lately preached on *Gen.* 28. 12: wherein the Doctrine of Free Grace is displayed through *Jesus Christ;* also discovering the Nature, Office, and Administration of Holy Angels. To which is added, One Sermon on *Rom.* 8. 1; with some short Reflections on Mr. *Sam. Clarke's* new Book, Entitled, 'Scripture Justification.' By Benjamin Keach.[3]

The Fables of young *Æsop,* with their morals. Illustrated with 40 curious pictures applicable to each Fable; together with an ample account of his Life and Death: being a very profitable and delightful pocket Companion for Youth, never before published. Written by B[enjamin] H[arris?] Twelves.[4]

A Burning (yet unconsumed) Bush, exemplified in the dolorous Life of that excellent Saint, Mrs. *Mary Harrison;* who departed this Life, *June* 21., in the 23th Year of her Age; or A brief Narrative of her Conviction, Conversion, the dreadfulness of her Temptation, the Deplorableness of her Condition, and the joyfulness of her Dissolution. With the Author's Speech to the Inhabitants of Havant, at the Close of her Funeral Sermon. By C[harles] Nicholetts, Minister of the Gospel in *Havant.* Twelves.

Gospel Mysteries Unveiled, or An Exposition of the Parables

[1] He had paid a visit to England in November, 1688.

[2] P. L. Ford, *New England Primer,* 15, says at the Maiden-Head-Court in Great East Cheap, but that came later. In 1699 he issued the fifth edition of Thomas Wilcox's *A Choice Drop of Honey from the Rock Christ* "at the *Golden Boar's Head* against the *Cross-Keys Inn* in *Grace-church-street,* and at the corner of *Grace-church-street,* next *Cornhill.*"

[3] *Term Catalogues* (Arber), III. 35. November, 1697.

[4] *Ib.,* 41.

and express Similitudes of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ:* wherein also many things are doctrinally handled, and improved by way of application. By Benjamin Keach.

Conscience, the best Friend upon Earth; or The happy Effects of keeping a good Conscience. Very useful for this present Age. By Henry Stubbs.

Suspirium Musarum. The Sighs of the Muses; occasioned by the Death of His Royal Highness Prince *William,* Duke of Gloucester. Folio.[1]

Harris enjoyed some notoriety, but the editor of the *Roxburghe* and *Bagley Ballads* does him an injustice by laying emphasis upon the wrong quality. In an age of bitter controversy, in which the foundations of church and state were being shaken, to one party the active writers of the other would be libellers — and worse — and every incident in their lives that could be interpreted as scandalous would be spread before the public at large, dwelt upon, and magnified. Truth was the last to be considered, and the satire, merciless and brutally coarse, sought to overwhelm the object by sheer vulgarity. *Innocence Unveil'd: Or, A Poem on the Acquittal of the Lord Chief-Justice Scroggs* — Harris' bitter enemy — has the lines:

> Those Scribblers *Harris, Smith* and *Care,* will quake,
> For their Foundation doth begin to shake:
> . . . . . .
> Plot on, thou puny Levite [Oates], but beware
> Both Thou, the Captain [Bedloe], *Harris, Smith,* and *Care,*
> Of him you aim'd to catch within your Snare.[2]

It was correct to speak of him as "pillori'd Ben," for he had stood in the pillory, but the description was intended to be murderous of reputation. On the other hand some good natured thrusts were designed to raise a laugh, as in *The Badger in a Fox-Trap,* where

> I have sense children and fools to scare,
> By teaching *Ben* [Harris] and Franck [Smith] to write great Lies;
> How mighty Monsters quarrel in the skies:
> *Visions at Hatfield,* either White or Green, . . .

[1] *Ib.,* 270, 274. November, 1701.
[2] *Roxburghe Ballads,* IV. 173.

and in *The Recovery* (1682–83):

> Here first their unskill'd Spirits th' visions play'd,
> And learnt their *Visions* to the *Hatfield Maid:*
> Here first were rais'd the wond'ring world to scare,
> The Armies *Harris* muster'd in the Air.

wherein fun is made of some exaggeration or prediction by Harris which had fallen short. Yet Harris was capable of better things than abuse.

In the Boston Athenaeum are a few English ballads or broadsides of the period and three have the imprint of Harris. The title of a fourth in the Woods Collection is added.

The Ghost of the late House of Commons, | To the New one appointed to meet at | Oxford. Printed for Benjamin Harris at the Stationers Arms under the Royal Exchange; and are to be sold | by Langley Curtis in Goatham Court on Ludgate-Hill. 1681. BA

The | Protestants | Congratulation | To the City | For their Excellent Choice of | Members | To Serve in | Parliament, | October 7, 1679. London, Printed for Benjamin Harris in the Piazza under the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1679. BA

An Excellent New Ballad, | To the Tune of How Unhappy is Phillis in Love. Printed for Benjamin Harris at the Stationers Arms at the Royal Exchange, and are to be | sold by Langley Curtis in Goatham Court on Ludgate-hill, 1681. BA

The Leacherous Anabaptist: or, the Dipper Dipt. A New Protestant Ballad. London, Printed for Benjamin Harris. 1681. Woods Coll.

In addition to the three having Harris' imprint there are others of the same period, some relating to the Duke of Monmouth. I give them, as Harris may have been responsible for the issue, though without his name.

Englands Lamentation | for the | Duke of Monmouth's Departure: | Reflecting on his Heroick Actions. London, Printed in the Year, 1679. [Signed, J. F.]

A | Poem of Congratulation | On the Happy Return of His Grace | James | Duke of Monmouth.

Great News | from | Westminster, | Or a Congratulation upon | The happy Assembling | Of the Lords and Commons | in | Parliament. | According to his Majesties Prorogation of the 26th of this instant January, 1679. London, Printed by D. M. 1679.

Geneva & Rome: | Or, The Zeal of both boiling over: | In an earnest Dispute for Præeminence, carried on at a Private Conference between | Jack a Presbyter and Believe-All a Papist. | Now Printed for Publick Satisfaction. London: Printed in the Year 1679.

The True Protestants | Litany. | To the Tune, When Jockey first the Wars began. Printed in the Year, 1680.

The | Excellency of Monarchy: | A | Panegyrick, | Written Anno 1658. by a Learned and truly Loyal Gentleman, for Information | of the miserably misled Commonwealths-men (falsely so called) of that | deceitful Age; and now reviv'd by a Friend to the Author, and an Honourer of the | Establish'd Government of these Nations.

The Tune to the Devonshire Cant: | Or, an Answer to the Parliament Dissolved at Oxford. London: Printed for T. Rawe in London-yard, near St. Paul's. 1681.

A | Ballad | upon the | Popish Plot | Written by a Lady of Quality. . . . To the Tune of Packington's Pound.

Young Jemmy. [Duke of Monmouth.] An Excellent New Ballad, | To an Excellent New Tune. London: Printed for Alexander Banks, 1681.

The Ballad of the Cloak: Or, The Cloaks Knavery. | To the Tune of, From Hunger and Cold, or Packington's Pound. [Three lines of music.] Reprinted, Corrected, Revised, and enlarged by the Author.[1]

A Canto on the new Miracle wrought by the D[uke] of M[onmouth], in Curing a young Wench of the King's Evil; as it is related at large by B. Harris in his Prophetical Intelligence, published Friday Jan. 7th, 1681, to prevent false Reports.

BAGFORD, II. 800.

Room for a Ballad; | Or, | A Ballad for Rome. | Being | A Continuation of the Catholic Ballad, inviting to Popery; | Upon the best Grounds and Reasons that could ever be produced. Printed

[1] In the British Museum is the first issue. Printed for P. Brooksby, near the Hospital-Gate, in West-smithfield. [1680?]

for Benjamin Harris, at the Stationers' Arms in Swithins-Alley, near the | Royal Exchange.

Roxburghe, iv. 105.

The Manner of the Barbarous Murther of | James, | Late Lord Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, | Primate and Metropolitan of all Scotland, | And one of his Majesties most honourable Privy Council of that | Kingdom; May 3, 1679. London, Printed for J. S[mith?] and B. H[arris]. 1679.

Roxburghe, iv. 151.

His taste for journalism could not be suppressed. On May 1, 1695, he published the first number of *Intelligence, Domestick and Foreign.* "Printed and sold by Benjamin Harris in Fore Street near Lorainers Hall." Only a single example of that sheet is known, but it was continued by an eighth number, dated June 7, 1695, as *Intelligence domestick and foreign, with the Flying Post-boy from the Camp in Flanders. Being an historical account of the publick transactions in Europe.* How many numbers were printed, or what subsequent changes the title passed through, I have no means of learning. Nor can the appearance of a new sheet in June be explained: *The Pacquet-boat from Holland and Flanders. Being an historical account of the publick transactions of Europe, together with the most memorable domestick occurrences.* "Printed for Benjamin Harris at the corner of Bartholomew Lane, near the Royal Exchange." Three numbers were issued, with a supplement to No. 3 — July 5. Four years later he again entered the field with *The London Slip of News, both foreign and Domestick.* No. 1. Tuesday, June 6, 1699. Printed by Benj. Harris in Maiden Head Court, Great Eastcheap. With No. 2 the title was changed to *The London Post, with intelligence foreign and Domestick.* Removing to the Golden Boar's Head against the Cross Keys in Gracechurch Street, he continued to print the paper until 1705 — an unusually long series and period for one of his usually disturbed career. Grass or Gracechurch Street was in Bridge Warde within and led to London Bridge, perhaps a favorable location to catch the passing traffic on the bridge. The region at the other end of the bridge, Bridge Warde without, contained the old bear gar-

den, theatres and other less reputable places of amusement and the stew houses were there advertised by signs painted on the walls, among which in Stow's time were a boar's head and the cross keys; but elsewhere such symbols would be harmless indications of occupations not so ancient or dangerous. In 1732 the Cross Keys on Gracechurch Street was an active stage center,[1] but the Golden Boar's Head had passed with so much else of a like description. Once again did Harris put out a weekly, in October, 1700, issuing *The Weekly Entertainment,* of which three numbers are known.

It is rather absurd to call most of these sheets newspapers, for news formed but a small part of their make-up. Nor can their existence be explained on any reasonable ground. They seemed to spring up in a day and die within a short time, leaving no permanent mark in the long list of ephemeral issues. Perhaps a small number had a definite purpose — to advance the interests of an aspiring politician, to defend the cause of religion or the State Church, or to express a certain public policy in terms other than official; many suggestions arise in painfully going through these sheets, the beginnings of the newspaper of today, but the result does not compensate the labor. The competition must have been intense and methods of meeting it unscrupulous; for the number of really good journals was small, the temptation to libel frequent and the trade of journalist in bad odor. Yet at this very time the participation of writers like Swift, DeFoe and Steele was being felt and opened the path for *The Tatler, The Examiner* and like issues which have become an essential part of English literature and valuable contributions to the history of the English people. Harris never can be ranked high as a writer, editor or printer, but he displayed enterprise and a persistence under difficulties that marked him above the ordinary news man and left a lasting impress in the annals of printing in old and in new England. To him belongs the *New England Primer* and to him should have belonged the credit for the first newspaper regularly printed in an English colony in America. Either achievement would label him as one to be remembered.

[1] 12 *Notes and Queries,* VIII. 84

John Dunton, who was also of the craft, wrote of Harris in his later years: he "continu'd Ben Harris still; and is now both Bookseller and Printer, in Grace-church Street, as we find by his *London Post;* so that his conversation is general (but never Impertinent) and his Wit pliable to all Inventions. But yet his vanity (if he has any) gives no Alloy to his Wit, and is no more than might justly Spring from conscious Vertue; and I do him but Justice in this part of his Character, for in once travelling with him from Bury Fair, I found him to be the most Ingenious and Innocent Companion that I had ever met with."

Benjamin Tompson to Increase Mather

Rever'd Mr. Mather, — Most humble and kind Salutations premised to yourselfe and yours.

It is not so much an ambition of Honour, as of a full imployment, and Its Comfortable attendants, which have moved mee to try what Interest a branch of an auncient Lancashire Christian and your most precious and Renowned friends and fellow sufferer may find, with your Christian selfe, who influence so many others. I had by my brother a Copie of New Laws, one wherof being for multiplying Schools. In observance whereof I thought you would Not bee backward, or in any other designe of publique good. My yeare being up in the place where I am I am bold to present my service to you, as your parishioner and Schoolemaister. It being the first time of offering myselfe in like Case, Whether the place bee open for me or Not, I begge that no foreigner or stranger may have It, if those of our owne Countrey and acquaintance may fitt the same. And though I sit unimployed,

My Loyalty is still the same
Whither I win or lose the game
True as a Dial to the Sun
Altho' It bee not shin'd upon.

If you have an hora vaciva in the long winter nights vouchsafe a Minute in a line to, and the rest in prayers for, Sir, your hearty and humble friend and servant,

Benj. Tompson.

25. 9. 83.

Sir the Cold apologizeth for the Scrawles.

Governor Shute's Memorial [1]

To the Right Hon'ble the Lords and others of his Majesty's most Hono'ble Privy Council.

The Memorial of Samuel Shute Esq'r Governor of his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire in New England.

Sheweth

That he humbly Conceives it will be absolutely necessary for his Majesty's Service in supporting his Royal Prerogative and keeping the People in a just Dependance on their Mother Country, That three independant, Companys be granted to those Provinces, two for the Province of the Massachusetts Bay which is the largest Province belonging to his Majesty in America, the other for the Province of New Hampshire.

One Company he proposes constantly to be in his Majesty's Castle Fort William, which is advantageously scituated on an Island a League's Distance from Boston, is regularly fortifyed and has near one hundred Guns mounted, Commands and guards the Entrance into the Harbour, The other Company to be in the Town of Boston which is very large and has near Eighteen Thousand Inhabitants.

He humbly Conceives the Necessity of having this Company in the Town will appear from the many Riots and Disorders that have been Committed in the Town, and also from the Complaints lately Transmitted from the Judge Advocate and Officers of the Court of Admiralty there to the Lords of the Admiralty here and their Lordships Letter thereon to his Majesty's Secretary of State which accompany'd those Papers, and likewise from the Complaints transmitted by the Officers of the Customs there to the Commissioners of the Customs here, and by the Memorial of the Commiss'rs to the Lords of the Treasury upon that Complaint, all which Papers with the Affidavitts annexed are lodged in the Secretary's Office, Duplicates whereof the Gov'r has by him.

The third Company to be in Fort William and Mary which guards the Entrance into the Harbour of the Province of New Hampshire.

He also humbly Conceives his Majesty's Governor should have a setled Salary independant on the People as his Majesty's Governors of other Provinces in America have, without which it will be impossible for the Gov'r to support his Majesty's

[1] *Circa* 1725. From the State Archives.

Prerogative or faithfully execute the Trust reposed in him, without having mean Allowance they have hitherto made, Curtail'd for his doing so. Moreover under this head, he takes the Liberty to observe (that tho' he is here upon his Majesty's Service and with his Leave) neither of the said Provinces have granted him any Salary for three Years last past, and when any was granted, it was not sufficient honourably to Support his Majesty's Gov'r of those Provinces.

All which is most humbly submitted by

SAMUEL SHUTE.

JEDEDIAH MORSE TO JOHN STOCKDALE.

CHARLESTOWN, June 10th, 1794.

DEAR SIR, — In looking over the Catalogue you sent me of new books which you have in the press, I notice Playfair's Philosophical and Political History of the French Revolution, 2 vols. 8vo. which I should be very glad to see, Gay's Fables 12mo — the books you are printing by way of *retalliation,* as they are new to me, the New European Magazine, Perry's New General Dictionary, pocket vol. I wish you to send me also regularly *the best* of the English Reviews. Also a copy of the portrait of Mr. Adams, our Vice-President, painted by Copely, and to be prefixed to the edition of his works which you are publishing.

In lieu of these I shall send you Dr. Williams' History of Vermont, Judge Sullivan's History of District of Main, both which are now in the press, and will be valuable works. Dr. Belknap's American Biography, 1st vol, 8vo., and Judge Winthrop's new translation of the Revelations, both lately published and ingenious. A new Abridgement of my Geography and such other new publications as are valuable and ingenious. I wish for the Reviews from the commencement of the year 1794. Yours as before,

JED'A MORSE.

List of Books which I send you by Capt. Scott, the bearer Mr. Broome:

Hannah Adam's View of Religions, 8vo. 1 vol.

* Belknap's Biography, 1st vol. 8vo. — 1 vol. in boards.

Winthorp's translation of the Apocalypse Pamphlet.

Abridgement of Amer. U. Geog'y, 1 vol. 12mo.

* This work is to be continued — shall send you the continuation.

P. S. There have been printed in the United States, since 1784 (when the 1st Edition was printed) 21,000 copies of my Geography great and small.

You will see that Dr. Belknap, *my friend,* has often quoted your friend Mr. Edwards. I lent him the copy you sent me.

I send you also 4th vol. American Preacher — a new work — the other volumes are out of print.

[Endorsed] Capt. Scott. With a bundle. Mr. John Stockdale, Bookseller, Piccadilly, London. Mr. Broome.

JOHN TYLER TO DANIEL WEBSTER.

May 27, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR, — I had hoped that we were done with Rhode Island, but here comes today, by the hands of *a special messenger,* a call from Gov'r King for protection against a supposed plot of Dorr to invade the State with troops from Massachusetts and other States. I can not think otherwise of it, than as a continuance of the game of brag, which I had regarded as at an end. But I have thought that the safer way was to show a desire to treat the letter of the Governor with the respect of instituting an inquiry into the matter by a secret agent of our own, and I write you therefore to take the matter in hand, and to appoint a suitable person quietly and silently to go to the borders of Rhode Island, and ascertain all that the insurgents are about. A Mr. [Henry] De Wolf of Massachusetts is said to be the military commander. The chief scene of operations is about Woonsocket Falls and Cumberland, and on the borders of Massachusetts. They are reported to have a thousand stand of arms, tents for a military encampment and two pieces of cannon. The 1st of June is talked of for the general meeting, and the insurgents boast of having 2500 men enlisted in their service.

Now I wish to select a suitable person to get in among the people who will be able to find out their real designs. He will of course act confidentially, and will be selected for his prudence and sagacity. Be assured of my constant regard.

JOHN TYLER.

P. S. The town of Thompson in Connecticut is spoken of as Dorr's sometime headquarters.[1]

[1] See Mowry, *The Dorr War,* 201, but the name of the agent is not given.

An Unpublished Comedy.

In the papers collected by the late Mr. Walter Lloyd Jeffries is a broadside issued in Boston, in December, 1768, inviting subscription to publish a comedy entitled, "The Miser: or the Soldier's Humour," by William Clarke, a soldier of his Majesty's Twenty-Ninth Regiment. Subscribers were referred to Elisha Brown at the Manufactory-House, of whom little is known, though he may have been a member of Giles Russell's company in the expedition against Havanna in 1762, under Admiral Pococke and Lord Albermarle. Nor is anything known of Clarke and his unpublished comedy. The Twenty-Ninth Regiment served in America from 1766, except for the years 1773–1776, becoming in 1783 the "Worcestershire Regiment," stationed in Canada. Its colonel from 1766 to 1769 was George Forbes, fourth earl of Granard who died in 1769, and after that year William Evelyn, probably the one of the name who lost his life by shipwreck on Cape Breton, Canada, in 1805. No copy of the pamphlet is known and it is doubtful if the response to the "Proposals" were such as to warrant its printing. The circular in the Jeffries papers is unique and is reproduced by the courteous permission of Mr. William A. Jeffries.

BOSTON, December 1768.

PROPOSALS

For printing by SUBSCRIPTION,

MISER:

OR THE

SOLDIER's REMOVE.

A

COMEDY,

OF THREE ACTS,

As it is acted by his Majesty's Servants.

By William Clarke,

Soldier in His Majesty's XXIXth Regiment.

Non possunt placeto Omnibus.

No more Libels shall in my Works be found,
I'll gently tickle whilst I probe the Wound.

As this new and ingenious Pamphlet was never before printed (though the Author has been often importuned to grant a Copy of the same) it is hoped it will meet with that Applause from the Publick, the Merit of the Performance so justly deserves, which will be an incitement for the Author further to gratify the Curiosity of his Readers in this Way.

The Price to Subscribers will be *Eight Pence*, L. M. each Book, which will be neatly printed on a good Type, on fine Paper, and will be covered [illegible].

Those Persons who subscribe for Six Books shall have a Seventh gratis.

Subscriptions are taken in by ELISHA BROWN, at the Manufactory-House, and by those Gentlemen who are possessed of these Proposals.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock P.M., the President, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The President announced the appointment by the Council, in accordance with the By-Laws, of Henry Winchester Cunningham, to serve as Recording Secretary until the next Annual Meeting. The record of the October Meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following gifts:

From the late Mrs. William Roscoe Livermore, through her sister, Mrs. John M. Cornell, of Seabright, New Jersey, the Bible once belonging to Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), printed at Basel, Switzerland, by Nicolas Bryling in 1557, and containing many annotations in Melanchthon's hand. It was formerly in the library of Alexander Chalmers, and was later sold in the library of Dr. Georgius Kloss, of Frankfort, in 1835. Mr. Samuel Leigh Sotheby in 1848 noted it in his catalogue of books bought at the Kloss sale. It was sold in 1853 in a part of the library of Edward Craven Hawtrey, D.D., Provost of Eaton College, and was bought by Henry Stevens for George Livermore, of Cambridge, whose name is on the first fly-leaf, with date July, 1853. On the same leaf is a manuscript note by Dr. Hawtrey, signed with his initials. At the end of the book there are several manuscript entries: "Richard Dart. His Book," Jan. 5, 1707; "Em^{ll} Dart," died at Westham, May 12, 1707; "Eliza: Dart," died at Shadwell, Nov. 28, 1711; and "J. Dart 1714." At the sale of George Livermore's library, on Nov. 20, 1894, this Bible, No. 139, was bought by his son, Col. William Roscoe Livermore, our late associate. At the request of Mrs. Cornell a silver plate has been attached to the cover of the Bible, with the following inscription expressing the purpose of the gift:

THE PHILIP MELANCHTHON BIBLE
WITH MANY NOTES IN HIS HANDWRITING
ONCE THE PROPERTY OF
GEORGE LIVERMORE OF CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
PRESENTED TO
THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY
IN MEMORY OF HIS GRANDSON
WILLIAM ROSCOE LIVERMORE, JR.

From Dr. Sydney Howard Carney, Jr., of Staten Island, New York, five manuscripts relating to his ancestors.

From James Benjamin Wilbur, of Manchester, Vermont, a letter of Israel Keith, to Mrs. E. Palmer, Germantown, dated at Boston, June 24, 1779.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, additions to the Kingsmill Marrs Collection.

From Mrs. Julian (Mary Maud Beresford) Sturgis of London, through John Hubbard Sturgis, the letter-book of Thomas Handasyd Peck, trader in Boston, containing copies of his letters between April, 1766, and November, 1776.[1] It was used by Julian Sturgis in *From Books and Papers of Russell Sturgis,* privately printed before 1894.

From Charles Knowles Bolton, a drawing, 1923, of Birch Island, Casco Bay, by Mary and Elizabeth McMahon, with their typewritten description of the Island.

From Benjamin Loring Young, letters and papers, 1844–1887.

From Harold Murdock, thirty-three volumes of British *Army Lists,* 1766 to 1827.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From John F. Paramino, sculptor, of Boston, thirty photographs of tablets, statues, and bas-reliefs, in bronze, marble and stone, designed and executed by him, among which are the Province House tablet, 1923, in the Province Building, Washington Street, Boston; several tablets erected by the Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission at Truro, Wellfleet, and Eastham; the tablet and boulder to the memory of Alexander Scammell, on Burial Hill, Plymouth; the tablet placed in the Central Burying Ground, Boston Common; the memorial tablet to Mrs. Henry Cabot Lodge, in the Chapel, at Nahant; the Phillips Brooks tablet; the William Barton Rogers medal made for the dedication of the Technology buildings, Cambridge; the portrait bust of Lieut. Norman Prince placed in the State House; his portrait bas-relief in Norman Prince Square, State Street; and portrait bust of Parker Pillsbury in the New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord.

[1] Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas H. Peck, married James Perkins (1733–1773) and after her husband's death carried on an importing business in Cornhill, Boston. During the War for Independence she lived at the house of Edward Bacon of Barnstable, and her eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married in October, 1773, Russell Sturgis. Their grandson, Russell Sturgis, was a member of the firm of Russell and Sturgis, later Russell and Co. of China, and at a later period of Baring Brothers and Co. of London.

From Mrs. Clarence C. Williams, of Washington, D. C., relics of the World War, which belonged to the late Major Augustus Peabody Gardner: a German iron cross; a German medal on the sinking of the *Lusitania,* three German satirical medals on American Neutrality, Protest to England, and Germany's answer to the United States; thirty " Vivat Victory " ribbons, and three naval cap ribbons; and also a collection of special war stamps, regimental and otherwise, French, English, Italian, and German.

From Walter Gilman Page, a piece of the plaster showing one figure in the painted " fleur-de-lis " design on the walls of a room in the old Coolidge house in Plymouth, Vermont, built by John Coolidge, about 1800.

From Henry W. Cunningham, signed photographs of Charles W. Eliot, and William Roscoe Thayer.

From Walter J. Lane, of Dedham, the engraving of the United States Senate Chamber in 1846, by T. Doney.

From Mrs. Henry Herbert Edes, a bronze medal struck to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 1907.

From Edmund M. Parker, of Cambridge, a photographic group of members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, taken on June 10, 1869, in front of the house of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop. This is of special interest as the original photograph, before it was " built up " by changes and additions, as reproduced in the frontispiece of 2 *Proceedings,* III.

From Mrs. Alice O. Mecorney, of Waverley, two photographic views of Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Lookout Mountain.

From Hon. Albert D. Bosson, a German 500,000 mark note.

From James R. Carret, a Maryland colonial bill.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from James B. Wilbur and George M. Wrong, Corresponding Members, accepting their appointment as delegates to the Parkman Centenary to be celebrated in Montreal on the 13th instant.

Jean Jules Jusserand, French Ambassador, a Corresponding Member, was transferred to the roll of Honorary Members.

Henry Dwight Sedgwick, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The President, in announcing the death of Lord Morley, an Honorary Member, said:

Lord Morley was one of the most distinguished men in English literature during the second half of the Nineteenth Century. His studies of the Eighteenth Century, especially of the Frenchmen of the time of the Encyclopedia, were, and I think are, quite unsurpassed in their particular field. He had a fine and most engaging style, carefully finished, very clear and very effective. He gave up his literary pursuits in order to enter politics, where he attained the highest distinctions and served in more than one Cabinet. I have seen it stated in the notices of his death, both in English newspapers and our own, that he was the last of what they called the "Great Victorians," — the men eminent in letters during the latter part of the last century and equally eminent in public life. It is a curious oversight, however, that those who wrote about Lord Morley in this way did not remember that Sir George Trevelyan, who happily still survives and was a very close friend of Lord Morley, was also and most conspicuously one of the "Great Victorians." He took very high rank at Cambridge, where he graduated in 1861, and was afterwards an Honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and of Oriel College at Oxford. He was elected to Parliament from Tynemouth in 1865 and continued in the House of Commons until 1897. He was one of the leaders of the House and held very high rank in the Liberal Party. He was Civil Lord of the Admiralty in 1868 and Secretary of the Admiralty in 1880; the Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1882; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the Cabinet, in 1884; Secretary for Scotland in 1886 and again Secretary for Scotland in 1892. He was one of Mr. Gladstone's most conspicuous supporters. His course in life, however, in one way was the exact reverse of that of Lord Morley. Lord Morley, after a long and brilliant literary career, laid letters aside and entered public life, where he attained, as I have just said, that high distinction with which we are all familiar. Sir George Trevelyan retired from public life, where he had filled a great place, and devoted himself to history and letters. His life of his uncle, Lord Macaulay, appeared in 1876, while he was in the full tide of an active public life, and is, in my

opinion, one of the very best biographies in the English language. In 1880, he published the "Early Days" of Charles James Fox, and after he had retired from public service he continued the studies thus begun by writing the history of the American Revolution, which is a work of the very highest character and merit, and which it is hardly necessary to say was received in this country with the deepest interest and admiration and had as great a success as in England. The Society has the honor of Sir George Trevelyan's name, like that of Lord Morley, upon its roll of Honorary Members.

Mr. Rhodes followed and said:

John Morley was born in 1838, the same year that Bryce and Sir George O. Trevelyan saw the light. Sir George in a talk before the Great War in referring to the three said, "We were born in the same year and Bryce is the best of us all, both mentally and physically." Bryce was the first of the illustrious trio to go. He went peacefully without any premonition, while Morley was more or less ill for a number of years before he passed away. Bryce and Morley were Oxford men, Trevelyan was of Cambridge; all three were honorary members of this Society being for six years the sole representatives of England and, with the exception of Firth and Goldwin Smith, the only Englishmen in the Honorary list from 1904 to Bryce's death in 1922.

Morley was great in literature as well as in politics. He early gained his literary reputation as editor of the *Fortnightly Review* and there was a time when he would have answered to the question who was the greatest literary man in England. He was a literary critic in the highest sense of the term, in the line of Matthew Arnold, who in turn took for his guide Sainte-Beuve. For insertion in the *Fortnightly* some one wrote to him pointing out many errors in J. R. Green's *Short History of England*. Far from printing the letter or making use of the criticism, he wrote to the gentleman, "You have made an error in addressing your letter: it should have been sent to J. R. Green."

Morley said once that the two men who had most in-

fluenced him were John Stuart Mill and Gladstone. Perhaps it was Mill who turned his attention to France and directed his writing the biographies of the famous Frenchmen who preceded the French Revolution; for Mill loved France, spending his last years quietly in his retreat at Avignon, writing from there a letter of introduction for Morley to Emerson on Morley's first visit to the United States in 1868. "You will find," wrote Mill, "Mr. John Morley of great capacity and promise, one of our best and most rising periodical writers on serious subjects — moral, social and philosophical, still more than political, and at present editor of the *Fortnightly Review*. You will find Mr. Morley worthy of your attention and interest both as a man and as a thinker."

Because Morley loved Gladstone that did not prevent his doing full justice to Disraeli. He thought him one of the most remarkable men that had ever lived. It was once suggested that Disraeli lacked depth. "What of depth," said Morley. "His books prove that he had depth abundantly. For depth of thought there is *Sibyl;* for depth of insight into social conditions, *Coningsby;* for pure fantasy, *Vivian Gray.*"

Morley with his other accomplishments was a good Greek scholar. Prof. W. W. Goodwin met him and asked for his autograph which he would insert in Morley's edition of Demosthenes on the Crown, which Goodwin possessed and used.

Morley was a broad-minded man and liked Herbert Spencer, of whom an American college president said, "Spencer was as dead as a door nail." Spencer had requested Morley to make the address at his funeral, but thinking of Morley's Scotch Presbyterian constituency fancied that his appearance in that capacity might embarrass him so withdrew the request, but he asked Morley to come to see him. So Morley journeyed to Brighton to see Spencer, but found him so weak and rambling in intellect he could not tell him his idea of the hereafter, which Morley would have been glad to hear.

On Morley's second visit to America President Eliot, whom he had met the previous evening, took him next day

to see Harvard University and Morley gave this account of the visit. It seems that after showing Morley the larger and more expensive dormitories President Eliot said, "Now you must see how our poorer men live," and knocked at random at a door in Stoughton Hall. An undergraduate opened the door. He was in his shirt-sleeves without collar or cravat. When he saw the President of the College with a stranger he looked abashed. President Eliot suavely explained that he was showing the College to Mr. John Morley. "Fancy my surprise," said Morley, "when the man seized my hand, burst into laughter and exclaimed, 'You are welcome, sir. I am just writing for a newspaper an account of your visit to America.'" They entered, found a room barely furnished, bed, chest of drawers and a table, and on the table the ink was not dry on the paper headed "The Hon. John Morley's Visit to America."

That same day Charles Eliot Norton, who was the only acquaintance left from his former visit, gave him a luncheon and said with remarkable prescience, "Morley, I think our civilization is a failure." On returning to town Mr. Morley said: "I did not like the pessimistic strain of my old friend Charles. I like the way Charles W. Eliot operates better. He takes materials as he finds them and makes the world better from having lived in it; he occupies a position of light and leading." We took the trolley car at Mr. Norton's and got out at Harvard Bridge, which we walked across and appearing at about sunset saw the great ball setting in the west and the full moon rising in the east. It was really a magnificent spectacle. "I never saw anything finer in my life," declared Morley.

On this his second visit to America, I constituted myself his cicerone. One morning we went about together and he said he wanted to see the sites of Boston not the sights, emphasizing the differences by spelling the two words. Calling upon him at the Hotel Touraine the head porter said to me, "Sir John is in the library," where I found him reading Bancroft's *History*. I showed him the ancient sites, the modern ones, and insisted that he should see the outside of the Massachusetts Historical Society of which he was an honorary member. Then I took him to the Shaw Monument.

As I have said on a previous occasion in these rooms, he was not at all interested in the work of St. Gaudens, but he was in the inscription of Charles W. Eliot, wherein he read the history of our negro troops during the Civil War. Yet after taking him to all the so-called sites, I saw he was not satisfied. He said he wanted to see the harbor. I could not imagine what was his interest, as he had sailed from Liverpool and landed in New York, two of the then finest harbors in the world. But the coachman drove us to a hill where we could see the harbor and the Cunard and White Star ships at anchor. Still Morley showed his lack of satisfaction. The Irish coachman knew his Boston better than I did and overhearing the conversation said, "I know what Mr. Morley wants to see," and drove us at once to Atlantic Avenue where was a tablet marking the spot of the Boston Tea Party. And Morley declaimed the rhymed couplet which follows the inscription:

> No, ne'er was mingled such a draft
> In palace, hall or arbor
> As freeman brewed and tyrant quaffed
> That night in Boston Harbor.

Morley was a devoted friend of Ireland. He expressed great satisfaction with the Irishmen of the second generation, their looks and general demeanor, a crowd of whom he received at his hotel in Boston. He held for a while the post of Chief Secretary for Ireland. He finished a speech made in 1890 when Home Rule was a burning question with these words: "Gentlemen, do to Ireland as you would be done by. If she is poor, remember it is you who have denied to her the fruits of her labor; if she is ignorant, remember it is your hands that have closed to her the book of knowledge; if she is excessive, as some of you may think, in her devotion to a church which is not the church of most of you, remember that church was her only friend and comforter in the dark hour. Gentlemen, the dark hour is past. She has found other friends, other comforters. We will never desert her."

He was utterly opposed to war. He said in opposition to the Boer War, at a great meeting in Manchester: "You

may carry fire and sword into the midst of peace and industry; it will be wrong. . . . You may add a new province to your empire; it will be wrong." It is fresh within our memory that, consistent as he most always was, he resigned from the Cabinet rather than to have part and parcel in England's share in the Great War.

But he never seems to have lost the friendship of his political opponents. He and Balfour were invited to a dinner to meet Daudet. After dinner Balfour drew out his watch and said he must go to the House of Commons and invited Morley to go with him in his brougham. So they went off together. Daudet was surprised and said to his host, "Am I mistaken in thinking they are political enemies?" Stranger still, he and Chamberlain were great friends, even after Chamberlain had taken a stand in violent opposition to Home Rule. "Do you ever talk politics?" asked a witty and charming lady of Cambridge, Massachusetts. "Nothing else," was the reply. "Do you ever agree?" asked Mr. Lawrence Lowell, who was not then President of Harvard University. "Never," was the reply, "but then we are friends and that's something after all."

Two incidents show a mild love of place and money. When the head porter at the Hotel Touraine called Morley "Sir John" I told him laughingly of the appellation and he replied, "I could be 'Sir' if I wanted to be." I had then little idea that I must present him today as Viscount Morley of Blackburn.

An enthusiastic stock-yard man of Chicago said, "Come and see a live pig put in a machine and at the other end you will see in a few moments the variety of his products." Morley, as he relates the incident, said unthinkingly at the time: "I would not see such a sight for a thousand pounds, and then I thought that a thousand pounds was a good deal of money and I would go and see the sight for less."

Most of the writers in English and American newspapers at the time of Morley's death dwell more on his mark in politics than they do in literature. J. P. Collins writing in the *Transcript* for October 27 said that he took Burke for his model in political philosophy. Morley, he maintains,

had limitations as an orator, like his model Burke, who was said to be a most moving orator because when he got up to speak all the members moved out of the House. It depends on what you call an orator. James Bryce said an orator was one who took you off your feet. If we accept that standard Morley was no orator, but Richard Olney thought Morley's speech at the Chamber of Commerce dinner in New York a great oration. All agree, however, that Morley's speeches read well.

Morley knew Burke through and through, writing two biographies of him, one published in 1867 and the other in 1879, when he was editor of the English Men of Letters series. He also knew well his antithesis, Rousseau, writing with loving care two volumes in 1873. "His writings," he said, "produced that glow of enthusiastic feeling in France which led to the all-important assistance rendered by that country in a struggle so momentous for mankind" — of course referring to the American revolution — and, "it was from his writings that the Americans took the ideas and the phrases of their great charter." Napoleon believed that if Rousseau had not lived the French Revolution would not have occurred, and Morley wrote, "It was Rousseau who first sounded a new trumpet note for one more of the great battles of humanity. Some of his contemporaries followed the same vein of thought. But he alone had the gift of the golden mouth." Morley agrees with most French critics in calling Rousseau one of the great stylists of France. Morley has been called an apologist of the French Revolution, but hardly with justice. Would an apologist write of the French revolutionists as a "populace gone mad in exultation, terror and fury," walking through the streets of Paris crying out, "Be our brother or we will kill thee"?

While Morley entered politics a strong Liberal, a close study of his career shows that he would agree with Lecky, who believed that if the principles of Rousseau governed England instead of those of Burke, sad would be the fate of the British empire.

Morley admitted the strong influence of Gladstone. With good judgment he was selected as the biographer of Gladstone. He had previously written, "Biography in the

hands of a man of requisite capacity and sensibility is perhaps the very highest form of a prose work." It was a great biography and a history of the times as well, Morley being contemporary with the events he describes. One criticism of the book is that in the many conversations between Gladstone and Morley, Morley talks more interestingly than Gladstone, but this is not intentional; it arose from the fact that Morley was really the more interesting man of the two in conversation and not so diffuse in expressing his opinions.

Morley was an important factor in the councils of the Liberal party. Matthew Arnold suggested him as Prime Minister in the eighties; and when the Liberals came into power in 1904–05, when he could have had the choice of any portfolio except that of Prime Minister or the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he chose the Indian Office and administered the affairs of that great dependency of the British Empire well. When Gladstone resigned the position of Prime Minister in 1894 the Harcourt party begged for the influence of Morley in favor of Sir William Harcourt as Prime Minister, but he went for Roseberry, though afterwards to his regret.

Take it all in all, Morley was a great Victorian, a representative of literature and politics. Perhaps no one stands for that golden age so well.

The President announced the death of Edward Stanwood and called upon Mr. O'Brien who said:

Many of us made our first acquaintance with Mr. Edward Stanwood through the highly serviceable compendium, *Presidential Elections,* which he compiled early in life and brought up to date through successive editions as *A History of The Presidency*. This remains an exceedingly valuable work for all interpreters of our political system. It reflects Mr. Stanwood's minute attention to detail, his unflagging industry, and his ever-present sense of justice.

As an illustration of his capacity for detail, I recall that when he was at work on his *American Tariff Controversies* (1903), he wrote to me in Washington to see if I could find

out when and why the "Committee *on* Ways and Means" became the "Committee *of* Ways and Means." There appeared no larger reason for it than the careless inertia of the compilers of the *Congressional Directory;* but the transition, slight as it was, had attracted his eager scrutiny.

Of his industry we have all seen striking illustration. He read the *Congressional Record* from cover to cover — one of the few men in this community to do so. He read the London *Times* daily for a great many years. He followed trade journals in textile and other industrial lines with astonishing persistency and intelligence.

But what was to my mind his greatest quality was his sense of justice and his undeviating allegiance to duty as he saw it. He had little of the spirit of those who, in order to gratify a friend or a relative, or possibly to conciliate a community, would modify his own views or their expression. The late Daniel S. Ford, for example, the imperious owner of the *Youth's Companion,* once directed Mr. Stanwood, then its managing editor, to perform this duty: Mr. Ford explained that there was a certain man, who happened to be Mr. Stanwood's closest friend, who was not sufficiently careful about his personal appearance — his trousers, his shoes, his hair, etc. Mr. Stanwood was to take him in counsel and advise the necessary changes, but was under no circumstances to say that the suggestion came from any other source than Mr. Stanwood's own intuitions. He carried out this program according to schedule. The man admonished did not speak to Mr. Stanwood again for six months, and remained cool towards him for the rest of his life, and Mr. Stanwood allowed him to go into the grave without the slightest disclosure of the secret. Such was the ruggedness of his sense of obligation, and such the rigidity of his conception of duty. There are people in the world who would have given this friend a sagacious hint of some sort, while technically complying with Mr. Ford's directions. I wish to recommend the example of Mr. Stanwood.

Mr. Stanwood's conversation was often of snappy epigrams. When a new member reached the Board of Trustees of Bowdoin College he remarked to Mr. Stanwood that before coming to these duties he had known but one member

of the board — naming somebody whom you all know but whom I should not identify. Mr. Stanwood's prompt response was, "And in all the years that I have served on this board that man has never yet made a common-sense suggestion."

Mr. Stanwood would never take a silver dollar in change. He disbelieved in their issue and decided to apply a personal boycott against them. Few of us have been without debtors from whom we would be willing to accept even this monetary symbol.

He held other opinions and practices with great tenacity. Woe be to the writer who ventured to use the word "so" without a completing clause. You could not say, in his publication, "I was so tired on Friday night." You must instead say "I was so tired on Friday night as to remain at home." I dare say his punctilious usage in this regard all the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society share; but my own handling of reportorial copy has not led me to the conclusion that it is universal.

The vigor of Mr. Stanwood's opinions was always delightful. I once wrote in an editorial for him that if a person burned up a national bank note the accident accrued to the advantage of the United States government. He promptly wrote back that this was not so; that it would inure to the advantage of the issuing bank. I returned with the information that Ellis H. Roberts, Treasurer of the United States, had said I was right. Mr. Stanwood rejoined that both Mr. Roberts and myself were wrong as to what should be the law and practice; but that we were, as he had already found out and intended to notify me, technically right in our statement of conditions.

Unyielding in his convictions, uncompromising in his logic, he went through to the end on whatever he undertook, faithful above all else to his sense of justice, even when this led him outside of party lines. His views on the tariff underwent some modification in his later years. He did not share, on the League of Nations, the views of our president, and the neighborliness of their association there did not prevent Mr. Stanwood's public expression of a dissenting opinion.

Mr. Stanwood left daily newspaper work early in life —

before I became acquainted with him and before he had taken the opportunity to give to it of his best and maturest powers. Many other men do this. It is perhaps inevitable that the calling should serve as a training school for other forms of activity, literary, political, and financial, rather than be the life-long profession which its votaries have always hoped it would eventually become.

Mr. Stanwood's relations to Mr. Blaine, whose biographer he was, proved one of the interesting chapters of his life. Mrs. Blaine, as you probably know, was his first cousin. On one of my last calls Mr. Stanwood told me of his visit to Mr. Blaine a short time before the latter died, and of Mr. Stanwood's expressed regret that the Maine man's great career was destined to end with the office of Secretary of State rather than with the presidency. "Yes," answered Mr. Blaine, "but I want you to notice one thing: the secretaries of state, from the foundation of the government, have all been gentlemen. Among the presidents we have had some very queer material." I trust this observation is not sacrilege to make in this presence.

Feeling as he did toward Mr. Blaine, Mr. Stanwood was naturally saddened by the response of Massachusetts in 1884 to the Republican candidacy. To see so many of his friends and newspaper associates repudiating a nominee whose prominence in the party Mr. Stanwood felt was largely deserved, naturally grieved him. But with that sense of justice to which I have alluded he was willing to allow other men to reach their own conclusions and respected their good purposes in so doing. I never heard an unkind remark from him toward any of the participants in this political movement which he greatly deplored.

He made no concealment of his dislike of the mugwump era and of the newspapers which figured conspicuously in it. The overturn thus undertaken proved one of the determining events of his earlier years in journalism.

Of Mr. Stanwood's relation to Bowdoin College, of which he was the senior trustee, and with one exception at the time of his death the longest in point of continuous service, this is not the place to speak. Nor is it of his other relations, notably as a trustee of the Public Library of Brookline and

as an officer of this society. I have rather limited my remarks to an all too sketchy estimate of his personal characteristics and of their relation to his part in public affairs.

The President announced the death of Edward Gray, and Mr. Ford said:

Edward Gray, son of Edward Gray and Elizabeth Gray Story, was a product of Groton School and Harvard College, graduating in 1900. After a brief business experience in Auburn, New York, and in Boston, his health forbade a continuance and he retired in 1904, without occupation and with as yet no developed taste in a definite field. Ten years passed before he printed his modest first volume, *William Gray, of Salem, Merchant,* in the preparation of which he had the encouragement and assistance of Mr. John C. Gray. The subject was a good one apart from its family interest, for William Gray owned a fleet of ships much larger than the United States navy could count before the War of Secession, and was successful at a time when commerce, affected by risks of war as well as of ocean, was as much an adventure as an occupation. The material on the subject was scanty and fragmentary and the volume reflects the poverty. Mr. Gray then turned to genealogy, which requires special qualities to be interesting generally, and also printed with notes the journal of Harriette Story Paige telling of Webster's visit to England in 1839. More formal and yet more useful to history were the Huntington letters edited by him for the Connecticut Historical Society. A few contributions to this Society complete his historical work. Increasing disability sadly interfered with necessary research and in his last months confined him to his room. The total output was not large or striking, but it was conscientiously done and with proper restraint, showing a leaning towards annotation of texts and a promise of better things in the future. Such workers are few because they must endure drudgery and the absence of reward, and in Mr. Gray's case he had hardly gone far enough to enjoy such returns as come in compensation for effort. Of gentle nature, he would never have become engaged in historical controversy; of local in-

terests, he would never have treated history in a broad style; but he would always have been growing, accurate, open to suggestion, painstaking and engrossed by his subject, and these qualities would have made him increasingly useful to the Society.

Captain FROTHINGHAM read a paper on

THE PENINSULA CAMPAIGN OF 1862.

The Civil War has now taken a new and high value, in the eyes of the world, because the World War has confirmed the lessons of the epoch-making four years of American warfare. The formal European schools of military science had failed to grasp these teachings,[1] and only reluctantly accepted these American doctrines in the World War, after their truths had been enforced upon European armies by the relentless course of military events.

Not only were European military experts blind to the results developed in this great uprising of the peoples of the North and South but many Americans had not appreciated the excellence of the armies, and the astonishing strides in strategy and tactics, of the Civil War. There was a natural reason for this. Among Americans there had been aroused so much intense zealous personal feeling, that the true history of the Civil War was obscured by bitter controversies over details. There had been so great a flood of fault-finding and disparaging criticism that many of our countrymen had become convinced it was a badly fought war, and they have been surprised by the discovery that, in reality, the Civil War revolutionized not only the tactics and weapons of warfare but also the making of armies.

This mistaken estimate of the military conduct of the Civil War can also be attributed to the early impatience of our people, who believed that the war would be quickly ended, and this led them to think only of placing the blame for its lasting longer than was expected. Americans had not

[1] Freytag-Loringhoven, the leading exponent of the Prussian military régime, has ruefully admitted, "The American Civil War might have furnished us many a hint which was left disregarded."

realized that the break between the South and the North, in itself, implied a struggle between great forces — too great to yield until one side had exhausted all its resources, and precluding any possibility of an early conquest. Naturally, this had also resulted in greater blame for the Northern leaders in the early part of the war, as at first the South seemed to be maintaining its separation. Consequently the early outbreak of fault finding, which has left its imprint upon the history of the Civil War, came from the impatience of the Northern public.

This impatience did not take into account the initial strength of the South, and immediate results were demanded of the Northern military leaders, which were impossible to accomplish. This unjust attitude gave the impression of a lack of skill in the Northern military leaders, in contrast to the Southern commanders, and this was out of all proportion to the actual state of the case. Yet this impression has remained in unfair judgments of many Northern officers, who really performed meritorious services against greater difficulties than were ever realized by their impatient critics. The early strength of the South was not understood, and the impelling forces behind Southern secession, which made it an impossible task for the North to gain a quick victory.

In fact, the South was stronger at the beginning, and until the North had time to gather its superior resources. This broad condition underlay the military situation, and it is a true statement of this military situation to emphasize the fact that the Northern generals who were called to command in the first serious campaigns against the South, had to contend with a handicap that did not affect the work of their successors. When the war began, the Confederacy had the great advantage of a better military preparation and consequently a much better army. This condition has not been sufficiently understood, but it must be admitted as an important factor in the military situation.

Outside of the enthusiastic general uprising of the Southern people throughout the seceding states, several other causes contributed to the unquestionable initial military superiority of the South. Some degree of military training had been kept up in the South, but such training was prac-

tically dropped in the busy North. The social scale in the South made officers and men fall naturally into their places. Most important of all, the Southern Regular officers who had resigned from the United States Army, went back to their native States, and were at once given important commands by these States. This, at the outset, gave the Southern states the ideal means for a military organization, with the best trained men in the country for leaders. Consequently, these Southern state forces were not merely state militia, in the ordinary sense of being commanded by their untrained local men and thus obliged to wait for the best leaders to work to the top. On the contrary, these Southern troops had their most efficient leaders at the very start — which was perhaps unique in military history.

It is a notable fact that General Grant, who was a keen observer, was one of the few who realized the importance of these regular officers to the South at the very beginning of the Civil War. From Cairo, under flags of truce in the first months of the war, Grant saw a great deal of the Confederate officers, and he wrote of this phase of the situation: "Seeing these officers who had been educated for the profession of arms, both at school and in actual war, which is a far more efficient training, impressed me with the great advantage the South possessed over the North at the beginning of the rebellion. . . . The whole loaf was leavened." This last was one of the wisest sentences that Grant ever wrote — and the effect of this "leaven" upon the Confederate forces was unmistakable. From the Southern Regular officers of the United States Army, who went back to their States, came the best Confederate generals, all of whom had high commands at the start. Lee, the two Johnstons, Jackson, Longstreet, the two Hills, etc., were the leaders of the South at the very beginning of the war. No change was necessary, except to replace deaths in action — and no armies in history ever entered a war with better leaders than the Confederate armies. This gave the South the dangerous advantage of more efficient military forces at the start.

On the other side, the Union Administration made the grave mistake of keeping the small Regular Army practically

intact. Consequently the great Northern Army of volunteers was made up of raw recruits, officers and men. What might have been accomplished for the North, by scattering trained Regular officers through the State commands, was shown by the case of Grant himself, who was out of the Army in civil life, and free to accept the State command which was offered to him.

This was one of the most fortunate events for the North at the start of the war. It led quickly to Grant's enlarged command, and he at once won great results on the Ohio and Mississippi in the early campaigns that meant hemming in the Confederacy. For the North this piece of good luck was the exception, not the rule, and Grant was one of the few early Northern commanders destined to be a great figure in the final decision.

When the actual situation at the outbreak of the Civil War is carefully studied, it is beyond belief that there might have been a complete conquest of the Southern armies in 1862. The Confederacy came into being with too much military strength. To quote again from Grant: "Up to the battle of Shiloh, I, as well as thousands of other citizens, believed that the rebellion against the Government would collapse suddenly and soon, if a decisive victory could be gained over any of its armies . . . then, I gave up all idea of saving the Union except by complete conquest."

Long before this, in October, 1861, the other general in the Union army who won equal glory with Grant in the final result, General W. T. Sherman, emphatically expressed the same conviction to the Secretary of War, telling him that the military situation "for offense, would need two hundred thousand, before we were done."[1] The Confederate General Gordon points this out with emphasis: "No man in the North, perhaps no man on either side, had at its beginning a clearer perception of the possible magnitude of the struggle than General W. T. Sherman — yet he called upon himself and his prophecy the criticism of those whose views did not accord with his predictions. . . . He seemed to have, at that early period, a well-defined idea of the desperate resistance to be made by the Southern people."

[1] *Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman,* U.S.A.

The wartime theory, that the prompt use of a small body of well-handled Union troops might have immediately crushed the Confederacy, is no longer held. There was too much initial strength throughout the Southern states to allow of any sudden conquest. It is only necessary to consider the widespread areas of secession, and the many communities that were in active revolt. With these conditions in mind, no one can now believe that the fight for secession might have been ended by any short campaign. In this, as in many other respects, the Civil War must not be judged by the European military formulas of the time.

It is now evident that only one thing would have greatly shortened the Civil War. If it had been possible, at the beginning, to make a prompt seizure of the Confederate seaports, the South would have been starved for military supplies, and thus cutting off munitions would have been the only means of causing a sudden collapse of the Confederacy — not any quick use of military force on the part of the North. But, even if this had been possible, there would still have been need to gather strong Northern armies to conquer the existing first military strength throughout the wide areas of the South. As the broad conditions of the war were actually shaped, the point of view of arguing that there was a possibility of a quick military conquest of the Confederacy, which has been the basis of the controversial histories, must be put aside.

On the other hand, the danger must be pointed out of a defeat for the North, in 1862, through this initial military superiority of the South, if there had been any break through by a Southern army, or any great disaster to a Union army, before the North had gathered its strength. This possibility of a defeat for the North in 1862 and impossibility of a quick military conquest of the South in that year, are both now evident, and they cannot be stated too strongly.

The resultant military situation, with this first advantage for the South and this corresponding danger for the North, must be kept in mind when studying the early campaigns of the Civil War. The mistake has too often been made of looking at the Civil War as merely a question of the conduct of the war on the part of the North. The early strength

of the South must not be forgotten, and 1862 was the year in which it was most threatening. We must study the events of that year as covering the one period when there was a chance for a Southern victory.

Until the beginning of 1862, there had been no general plan of operations for either side. But we can now see that, probably even more effectively than could have been accomplished by any formal plans, the course of events had already established the beginnings of the siege of the Confederacy — and this was the result of local conditions. It is an undeniable fact that the effort on the part of the North to keep the border states in the Union was in itself the beginning of the gradual envelopment that closed in, and at the end strangled the Confederacy. It was not alone the killing of men that defeated the Southern armies. It was this constricting siege of the South that exhausted all its resources. The separation of West Virginia from Virginia, the winning of Kentucky and Missouri, the efforts to help the loyalists of Tennessee, and to get command of the Mississippi and its tributaries, and the expeditions against the Confederate coasts, with the blockade of the Southern ports, all led up to the general movement in 1862 that began to close in relentlessly on the Confederacy.

As a result, at the beginning of 1862 the Civil War had already taken the shape of a struggle in which the grand strategy was founded on a sound basis. We must always keep in mind that the logical military and naval object for the North was to constrict, for the South to break through the contracting ring. With these established conditions, the grand tactics of the war were the products of the broad underlying situation, and for this reason the Civil War was a well-fought war, in spite of mistakes by individual commanders on both sides. This is another truth which has only been fully appreciated after lessons of the World War, and it was the natural result of armies of great intelligence fighting with a sound basis of strategy that always caused each side to revert to its logical object. With these undeniable conditions existing, the period of inactivity, before the offensives of 1862, was wholly to the disadvantage of the South, and the Confederate military leaders were failing in

their strategic object, not the Northern generals. In fact, the Confederates had rested in a false security. The Southern military leaders had been altogether too confident that they would be able to defend the states which had seceded. Consequently, they had failed to realize the full danger of the military situation which was surrounding the Confederacy, and was eating into its borders. Suddenly, in the spring of 1862, this danger grew to the proportions of a successful grand strategy for the North.

As a factor in this situation, the great value of the blockade was evident at once, and, with this, the expeditions against the Confederate coast, and the all-important capture of New Orleans. It is hard to express the amount of harm done to the South by the loss of New Orleans (April 23, 1862). The Union operations on the upper Mississippi, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee, were also increasing the pressure upon the South and shearing away its territory. It is a great help toward a true understanding of the war to keep in mind these underlying conditions of 1862. The South was being enveloped by the situation on land and on the seas. This was the right strategy for the North. It meant an inevitable defeat for the South, if this pressure could be continued, with the growing resources of the North surging forward to overwhelm the South. The only hope for the South, as has been said, was a break through. This could only be accomplished by concentrating the early military superiority of the South, to bring about a great defeat of a Union army that would lead to an invasion of the North in 1862. This would have raised the siege of the South.

After 1862 it was too late, the North had grown too strong in military resources. But this narrative will show that there was great danger of such a defeat for the Army of the Potomac in the campaigns of 1862. And, in fact, there was a narrow escape from a disaster in that year, which would have given the Confederacy its one chance for victory.

The two campaigns of the Army of the Potomac in 1862, under the command of General McClellan, have been special targets for adverse criticism. So befogged have been the

broad issues, it has not been clearly set forth that these campaigns comprised the two opportunities for Southern victories on a scale that would threaten the success of the Northern cause. In each there was danger of disaster. In the Seven Days, the Army of Northern Virginia for the only time on the field of battle outnumbered the Army of the Potomac. Lee's Antietam invasion of the North was so serious a menace that it became the crisis of the whole war. Yet the net results of these two campaigns were to end any hope of a successful Southern offensive.

In the following account of these events of 1862 every effort will be made to give only the established military facts, and to let these speak for themselves. The intention is to use all the available testimony, much of which is more recent than any history of the Civil War, and not to be drawn into, or influenced by, the political and war-time controversies.

Many of the early histories of the Civil War were filled with harsh criticism of McClellan. There were evidently many reasons for this, personal and political as well as military. On the other hand, in the early stages of the war, petty details were given an undue importance, because men had not begun to realize the vast scope of the struggle and the great forces that swayed in the balance. In the early stages impossibilities were demanded, and the failures to win impossibilities were attributed to causes and events which were not even straws in the great currents that were running.

The difficulties and dangers for the North, in the early campaigns of the war, are now better understood; and this has put McClellan's services in a different light. The fact was, the South was too strong to yield to the quick victory that the impatient North demanded of McClellan. This broad condition existed at the time of McClellan's two campaigns in 1862, and this situation should be recognized as underlying the events. These events should be stated only in reference to the military results, which must be the final test of history.

The defeat at Bull Run (July 21, 1861) had aroused the North to the need of organizing the large army which was

being collected near Washington. After successful service in West Virginia, McClellan was called to Washington and on July 27, 1861, was placed in command of the newly constituted Division of the Potomac, which comprised all troops of the former Departments of Northeast Virginia and Washington.

McClellan at once began to organize these raw levies into an efficient army, and military authorities unite in praise of the herculean task he accomplished. The Confederate General D. H. Hill called McClellan "unquestionably the greatest of Americans as an organizer of an army." And, even among his most hostile critics, there is no dissent from this verdict.

As has been shown, in the great untaught army McClellan was called upon to organize, there was no adequate element of trained officers to give instruction, as was the case in the South. It was merely a horde of volunteer units, recruited throughout the states, with officers as inexperienced as the men, full of zeal, the most intelligent and adaptable personnel that had ever been gathered, but, from the accepted military point of view, almost worthless for active service. There was no adequate staff — the organization of this great army had to be McClellan's own personal task. Yet in March, 1862, the Army of the Potomac was able to take the field with an organization that never broke down, even after the disasters that came from changes to incompetent commanders. There is no need to add anything to this simple statement of fact.

The value of this work of McClellan has been more universally acknowledged than any other service in his career. Yet only in view of the lessons of the World War has the excellence of our citizen armies of the Civil War been recognized. Before this, the American Civil War armies had been looked upon by European military critics as extemporized forces that would not have stood the test of European warfare. Now all this is changed, as the strategy and tactics of the Civil War have been vindicated, and proved to have been far in advance of the European methods of that time.

The World War has also shed a new light on the quick

results achieved on a large scale by McClellan. The time between August, 1861, and March, 1862, seems very short now, after the experience of the British in their efforts to produce an adequate army. It is strange at the present time, to read that from August, 1861, to March, 1862, was almost universally stigmatised as a period of long and inexcusable delays! Yet such is the fact. In the first months of McClellan's command the relief from anxiety over the possible capture of Washington and invasion of Maryland, with the change that was at once evident in the discipline of the army, had given McClellan the confidence of the Northern public and of the Administration; but, as time went on, an unreasoning popular outcry arose demanding that something should be done — "On to Richmond."[1]

Looking backward, and realizing the immense value for the North of delay and preparation, the outcry throughout the North for haste now seems almost insane. It was the South that should have been making the outcry, instead of the North, but this was not apparent at the time.

It was natural enough that the Northern public, not realizing these broad conditions, should become impatient, and also it was natural that this impatience should be concentrated upon the commander of the large army lying apparently idle near Washington. The public did not understand that this army was busily occupied in the process of organization — and no campaign that could be imagined would be valuable enough to compare with this.

Influenced by these mistaken ideas, the Northern public and the Northern press began to make bitter complaints of McClellan. These complaints would have been harmless, if they had not found support in Lincoln's Cabinet, bringing unwise pressure upon the President, which was increased after Stanton became Secretary of War, in January, 1862.

"The only man who did not feel the full force of the public demand was the Commander of the army itself."[2] McClellan stuck doggedly to his task, and, although he thus impaired his popularity, his conduct was vindicated by the

[1] "The Horace Greeley 'On to Richmond' nolens volens style." Longstreet, C.S.A.

[2] Webb, *The Peninsular.*

result. In the campaigns of 1862 the Army of the Potomac was able to fight hard, and keep its organization. This meant that one great menace to the North had been ended and there was no longer the danger of a collapse of this principal Union army.

In November, 1861, General Scott had been retired, and General McClellan succeeded him as Commander-in-Chief. General Buell was assigned to the Department of the Ohio, General Halleck to the Department of the Missouri. McClellan retained personal command of the Army of the Potomac. For the Northern offensive operations, in the spring of 1862, McClellan's own part was designed to be a campaign against Richmond, using the waters of Chesapeake Bay as a base.

As has been explained, the months of inactivity had given to the Army of the Potomac a thorough organization, and no result of equal value could have been accomplished by any operations in the field. But this was not understood in the least, and all was impatience in the North. It was at this time that McClellan lost his popularity with the Northern public and his name became associated with caution and delays in the public mind. At this period also McClellan made many enemies in Washington. It is evident that he lacked tact and that he gave enemies many excuses for attacks upon him. All of this weakened his influence with the President, and in the Cabinet McClellan had outspoken enemies. Thus his power for controlling military plans was impaired, and he was never allowed to carry out an operation without interference. On the other hand, he gained a hold upon the affection of his troops that he never lost, and he had their confidence throughout his campaigns. His personal influence upon his troops must always be counted as a high attribute of a commanding general, even though offset by his failing to inspire confidence outside of his army.

As has been stated, all the personal controversies are to be kept outside this work. But it is necessary to point out, as a factor in gaining military results, that McClellan had inspired his troops with an enthusiastic affection for their leader, but he had alienated many in the Administration.

McClellan himself had suggested and considered various

ways of approaching Richmond; but there is no question of the fact that, when he was ready to move, his plan was to use the waters of Chesapeake Bay as a base. This was literally "McClellan's plan," as it was always afterwards called.

At first thought it seems strange that the Confederacy should choose for its capital a point so near its frontier, but looking at the map, Richmond is seen to be a strong military base. This great strength must be realized to understand the war in the east.

The city was like "the hub of a wheel," [1] of which the spokes were roads and railroads radiating to all points of the compass. A Confederate army, operating from Richmond, had perfect freedom of movement and no communications to guard. It could take the offensive with the certainty that retreat meant withdrawing into a narrowed circle of strong defense.

In addition to the great advantages of easy communications and inside lines, the country all about Richmond was naturally strong for defense, and, anywhere in the circle, could be held against a superior force, by throwing up earthworks.[2]

In fact the only weakness of Richmond was a possible isolation from the rest of the Confederacy, and this meant a control of territory by superior Union armies that was only developed in the last stages of the war.

The most difficult approach to Richmond proved to be an attack from the north. Throughout the war Lincoln's advisers urged this approach as the best plan of campaign. They were led astray by the deceptive advantage of an army between the enemy and Washington, with consequent security for the Northern capital. The only result of all such attempts was to deluge the country north of Richmond with the blood of useless sacrifice.

McClellan's greatest wisdom as a strategist was his insisting that Richmond should be approached from the waters of Chesapeake Bay, a contention that was destined to be proved true by the test of battle in the operations against Richmond under other commanders.

[1] Lincoln.

[2] This was shown in Grant's campaigns.

After the other plan had been tried again and again, attempts from the North were finally abandoned by Grant, and in the last campaign against Richmond Grant's base was at City Point on the James River, nearly opposite Malvern Hill. This was a return to "McClellan's Plan," and "the result is as complete a practical vindication of McClellan's plan as could be desired." [1]

With the new year of 1862 the public clamor for an immediate advance against the Confederates in Virginia grew stronger. It is an interesting comment to note that in 1863 Hooker, who then commanded the Army of the Potomac, did not move until April. In 1864 Grant began his campaign in the first week in May. By that time the North was not thinking in terms of days and weeks — and there were no more complaints about "delays."

But the situation at the first of 1862 held especial reasons for not hurrying the movements of the Army of the Potomac. The main Confederate force, Johnston's Army of Northern Virginia, lay intrenched and inactive at Manassas, near the field of Bull Run. The inactivity of this army was a real strategic advantage for the Federals at this time. There was nothing to gain by driving him out. On the contrary, as Ropes stated, "To keep as large a force as possible stationed quietly at Manassas was obviously desirable for the success of the expeditions to Beaufort, to Newbern, and to New Orleans." This was only partly expressing the ill effects, upon the prospects of the South, of the apathy of the over-confident Confederate leaders at this time in the Civil War.

There was no military object for the North to be gained by stirring up Johnston. Obviously his army could not be captured, with the whole country open for retreat. But, instead of realizing that the Confederates were the ones who were making the mistake of lying idle, in dreams of security, all the Northern public could see was their own larger army lying idle — "all quiet on the Potomac." There was no question of striking the real balance, and there was a universal demand throughout the North for an immediate attack upon Johnston's army.

[1] Whittier, U.S.A.

Instead of this, "McClellan's plan" was to move 156,000 men (146,000 from Washington and 10,000 from Fortress Monroe) against Richmond, using the waters of Chesapeake Bay as a base. His first choice for a landing place was Urbana on the Rappanhannock River. The landing place was afterwards changed to Fortress Monroe. A study of the map will show that such a landing in force would make it necessary for Johnston to retreat from his advanced position. But the outstanding element in McClellan's plan, which eventually caused it to be used as the only plan that would bring success, was the essential of placing a Federal army, where it would keep up a continued pressure upon the Confederates, and where it would have the waterways of Chesapeake Bay as its base, making it possible to send reinforcements and supplies by the use of these waterways.

The lessons of history have shown that waterways are best for maintaining armies — and, under Grant, the Army of the Potomac was finally obliged to revert to a base where it could be supplied by water.

But, in the spring of 1862, this plan of McClellan's seemed a radical departure from the generally accepted idea of a direct advance against the Confederates from the North. The proposal at once aroused intense opposition in Lincoln's Cabinet, certain members of which thought a forward movement against Johnston a "political necessity."[1] Many officers of the Army also honestly believed that an advance from Fredericksburg or the south bank of the Potomac was the right move. It is probable that McClellan himself at times considered this alternative — but he always returned to his plan of using the waters of Chesapeake Bay.

The submission of this plan aroused a violent discussion in the Administration. McClellan was obliged to lay his project before a Board of generals (March 8, 1862), and it was only reluctantly adopted — even this with reservations of disapproval and fears for Washington, which eventually led to the fatal modifications of the plan of operations. This discussion of McClellan's plan leaked out, and prac-

[1] "The hostility of friends and advisors of the Administration was aroused. These men considered a forward movement of the Army of the Potomac a political necessity and demanded it." — Webb.

tically served notice to Johnston. Immediately afterwards he withdrew his army to the region of Richmond to prepare for defense.

As to Johnston's retreat, although there has been controversy over it, it did not really matter when he withdrew. He was bound to retreat anyway, as soon as the Army of the Potomac was put in motion, and there was no possibility of cutting him off from Richmond or seriously impairing his army.

But the rancor of opposition to McClellan's plan continued, and this resulted in a series of changes before it was put into operation. These changes were brought about by the opponents of McClellan in the Administration, and the facts will be stated merely as military events, without apportioning the blame. But no account of these events would be true, if it did not point out that the total of changes in this plan made the difference between McClellan's proposed Peninsula campaign, with the necessary superiority of numbers, and the Peninsula campaign, as it actually was carried out,[1] with a lack of numbers which prohibited success. The following is the sequence of events.

On March 11 McClellan was removed as Commander-in-Chief, and Secretary Stanton assumed the command, restricting McClellan to the command of the Army of the Potomac. This change was brought about by the celebrated President's War Order No. 3, of which the essentials are as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON,
March 11, 1862.

Maj. Gen. McClellan having personally taken the field at the head of the Army of the Potomac, until otherwise ordered he is relieved from the command of the other military departments, he retaining command of the Department of the Potomac. Ordered also

That all the commanders of departments, after the receipt of this order by them, respectively report severally and directly to the Secretary of War.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

[1] "As carried out, it was the campaign of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Stanton and the Committee on the Conduct of the War." — Whittier, U.S.A.

This extraordinary order meant that the Secretary of War actually took command of the United States Army, and this was the beginning of Secretary Stanton's personal domination of the Northern armies, which was destined to do much harm.[1]

This order also created the so-called "Mountain Department" which was given to General Fremont, a survival of other days, who was not adapted to the military needs of the time.

Troops were being transported to Fortress Monroe March 31. On that day Blenker's division (10,000) was detached from McClellan, with an apology from the President for "pressure," [2] and the division was sent to Fremont. April 3, Fortress Monroe was taken from McClellan's command, depriving him of another division (10,000). April 4, McDowell's corps (40,000) was detached from his army, and ordered to remain in front of Washington. The advisers of the Administration were filled with unreasoning fears for the safety of the capital.[3] The retreat of Johnston to Richmond should have made it plain that no such force was necessary to defend Washington. From what quarter could there have been any serious attack? Yet this fear for Washington was a constant drain on the Union offensives in all of the year 1862,[4] and continued to have an ill effect upon the operations of the Army of the Potomac in the following years.

General Meade most emphatically expressed his disapproval of all this. "Thus McClellan at a blow is deprived

[1] "Owing to this natural disposition to assume all power and control in all matters that he had anything to do with, he boldly took command of the army." — Grant, U.S.A.

[2] "This morning I felt constrained to order Blenker's division to Fremont; and I write this to assure you that I did so with great pain . . . if you could know the full pressure of the case I am confident that you would justify it." — Lincoln to McClellan, March 31, 1862.

[3] "The well known anxiety of the Northern Government for the safety of its capital." — Lee, C.S.A.

"The chronic terror of the War Department for the safety of Washington." — Hunt, U. S. A.

[4] "Place a moderate force in the works about Washington and in the Shenandoah Valley, with good commanders at both places, keep the Army of Northern Virginia employed, and there should be no fear as to the capital. McClellan saw this at the start." — Whittier, U.S.A.

of two army corps on which he relied to carry out his plans, . . . How any man can be expected to carry on a campaign when such interferences and derangement of plans are perfected, surprises me." [1]

Meade's criticism will be appreciated when we realize that these withdrawals of troops left McClellan to move into "the Peninsula" with less than 110,000 men, instead of 156,000.[2] The after history of the war proved, absolutely as a fact in physics, that it was impossible to capture Richmond with this force, against the Confederate army available for its defense in 1862. This was no matter of opinion or speculation, but the result of the tests of actual warfare in the following years, especially the operations of Grant.

The troops taken from McClellan were uselessly scattered about. Outside of the garrison of Washington under Wadsworth, there were separate commands under Banks, Fremont, and McDowell, and at times under Shields and Milroy. To make matters worse, all recruiting was ordered to stop April 3rd. This last, with a campaign in progress and losses to be repaired, was very shortsighted.

McClellan had reached Fortress Monroe on April 2, and the van of his army had arrived before the Confederate position at Yorktown April 4–5. The Confederates had intrenched across the Peninsula, and the Navy could not assist in driving them out. Consequently it was a question whether or not to attempt to carry these intrenchments by assault. The works were strong, and an assault was not thought practicable at the time.[3] It was not attempted, and the place was reduced by regular siege approaches.

The question of an assault on Yorktown has been much discussed. Like many of the early events of the war, it has been given an importance all out of proportion to the military results. Such an assault would have been a great deal to ask of an untried army. The disastrous effects of failure on such an army were realized, and at the time it was not advised by McClellan's officers.

[1] Meade, U.S.A.

[2] "Deprived of one third the forces he had relied upon." — Comte de Paris.

[3] "Advised by his chief of engineers that it was not practicable to break the enemy's lines across the isthmus, or to take Yorktown by assault." — Ropes.

Was there any result that might have been gained sufficient to justify an assault under the circumstances? To ask this question is the only way to free the matter from prejudice. If successful it would have done away with a delay that exasperated the impatient Northern public, but it is hard to find any military result that would have justified the risk. Johnston's statement, that he had force enough to cope with McClellan at any time, was perfectly clear and accorded with the facts. The Confederate commander stated: "Our attempting to hold Yorktown could only delay the enemy two or three weeks. Instead of that, I proposed that all our available forces should be united near Richmond, Magruder's troops to be among the last to arrive; the great army thus formed about Richmond, not to be in a defensive position, but to fall with its whole force upon McClellan." [1]

With this real situation understood, it is difficult to see what military difference it made whether McClellan passed through the Yorktown position in April or in May.

Yorktown was evacuated May 3 and McClellan worked his way up the Peninsula, meeting resistance only near Williamsburg (May 5), where Longstreet made a stand against Hooker, Kearny, and Hancock. Longstreet withdrew toward Richmond that night. Norfolk was evacuated May 9, and there was no longer anything to prevent making use of any of the great waters of the Chesapeake, as the Navy then had command of all the waterways.

McClellan had urged that the promised corps of McDowell should be sent to him by water, which was obviously the best plan, but the Administration insisted that McDowell should be moved overland, always influenced by the idea of keeping him between the enemy and Washington. On May 18 the following order was sent to McClellan: "You are instructed to coöperate so as to establish this communication as soon as possible by extending your right wing to the north of Richmond." The Comte de Paris has pointed out the harm of this mistake: "Thus imposing upon McClellan

[1] "If the Federal army should be defeated a hundred miles away from its refuge, Fort Monroe, it could not escape destruction. This was undoubtedly our best hope." — Johnston, C.S.A.

the necessity of operating by the way of the north." It actually led to putting the Army of the Potomac into a false position,[1] with its right wing extended to the north and thus exposed to attack. In fact this constant reaching out, to meet the promised advance of McDowell, became a weakness in the military situation.

Suddenly on May 24, Lincoln wrote to McClellan: "In consequence of General Banks' critical position, I have been compelled to suspend General McDowell's movements to join you." This change was brought about by the consternation caused in Washington by the campaign of Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley, which had an effect out of all proportions to the military results.

The Confederate Commander-in-Chief, General Johnston, had always felt sure that he had sufficient forces at hand to defend Richmond against the army that had been given to McClellan. He gave his effectives near Richmond, on May 21, 1862, as 73,928, which, as was usual with the Confederate returns, meant less than the bare totals of effectives. Relying upon these forces to defend the Confederate capital, Johnston kept Jackson in the Valley with about 18,000 men to create a diversion and to keep reinforcements away from McClellan.

In these objects Jackson was perfectly successful, as the various Union commands were unwisely scattered about the Valley, and there was no one force strong enough to check him. Jackson had severely punished Shields and Milroy, near the town of McDowell, May 8. He then turned against Banks, who retreated before him, but at Front Royal and Winchester (May 23/25) Jackson inflicted the same punishment upon Banks, and drove him back to the Potomac.

This raid, and the consequent unreasoning fears for Washington, actually decoyed the Administration into sending McDowell's corps to the Valley to assist in "trapping Jackson." This movement of McDowell's corps was without result,[2] except that it played into the hand of the Confederate

[1] "McClellan had been forced into this faulty position on the Chickahominy and held there by the oft-repeated assurances that McDowell's corps would be advanced to Richmond." — Porter, U.S.A.

[2] Nor was McDowell's march into the Valley of any avail. — Dodge, U.S.A.

commander and removed this much needed force from the possibility of being a factor in the Peninsula campaign — or of being of any use at all! [1]

Jackson completed the scare at Washington by a diversion in the direction of Harper's Ferry. With all the various Union commands moving against him, he was never in any danger of being "trapped," but after securing abundant stores, easily drew his army off down the Valley, with severe parting blows to Fremont at Cross Keys (June 8) and to Tyler and Carroll near Port Republic (June 9). In this campaign Jackson had only lost in killed and wounded about 1800. Yet he had not only diverted large forces of Union troops but he had left them in no condition to be sent in the Army of the Potomac.[2]

Having thus succeeded in keeping reinforcements away from McClellan, Johnston attacked the Union Army at Fair Oaks (Seven Pines) May 31, throwing the bulk of his forces against the corps of Keyes and Heintzelman, which were south of the Chickahominy. Longstreet and D. H. Hill drove back the advance division of Keyes' corps (Casey's) in great confusion, and for a while a defeat seemed probable for the Northern troops.

Fortunately McClellan, at the beginning of the action, had ordered Sumner's corps across the Chickahominy. The river was swollen and the bridge almost impassable, but the energetic Sumner managed to get his corps across, and saved the situation.

The next morning (June 1) the tables were turned, and the Federals drove off the Confederates, who lost 6134 in the two days battle. The Union losses were 5031. The effectives engaged in this action were almost equal on each side, from the best returns obtainable, — Union army 41,797, Confederate army 41,816.[3]

General Johnston, the Southern Commander-in-Chief, had been severely wounded in the first day's battle, and Robert

[1] "Paralyzing McDowell's force of forty thousand men." — Meade, U.S.A.

[2] So soon as the enemy left the Valley, Fremont, Banks, and McDowell, each retraced his steps, disheartened and decimated by useless countermarching. — Dodge, U.S.A.

[3] Livermore, U.S.A., *Numbers and Losses.*

E. Lee became the commander of the Army of Northern Virginia.

In June, 1862, the course of events in the Shenandoah Valley had bewildered the authorities in Washington. The Administration was utterly unable to measure the strength of Jackson in the Valley, or to make any estimate of the forces that were needed to cope with his raid. Consequently the advance of McDowell's corps to join McClellan's army was alternately promised and postponed.[1] This vacillation did harm in the situation on the Peninsula, as it kept the Army of the Potomac in a dangerous position, with its right north of the Chickahominy extended, as ordered by the Administration, to meet the promised advance of McDowell from the north.

McClellan had drawn his lines nearer Richmond, with his right wing at Gaines' Mill north of the Chickahominy. The new Southern commander, General Lee, recognized the weakness of this faulty position of the Army of the Potomac and he saw that it gave him a chance to destroy the Union army, if he could overwhelm the exposed right wing north of the Chickahominy by superior forces before McClellan could be reinforced. Lee felt sure that the Administration would not send McDowell's corps to the Army of the Potomac, and with this conviction he planned to bring Jackson down from the Valley to unite with his own army against McClellan. This concentration would give to Lee an actual superiority over McClellan and the opportunity for a destructive offensive against the Army of the Potomac.

Of course success for this plan demanded the utmost secrecy of execution, in bringing Jackson's force down from the Shenandoah Valley, but the muddled situation in the Valley was all in Lee's favor. To keep up the delusion of the Administration, troops were put on trains at Richmond, as if to be sent to Jackson. Jackson himself left a small rear guard to simulate activity, and he was actually able to withdraw his force from the Valley and to join Lee without the Administration having the remotest idea of his intention. And, consequently, the Administration did not move any troops to reinforce McClellan.

[1] Dispatches June 2, June 11, etc.

Jackson came down in advance of his command [1] and met Lee and his generals, to agree on the details of the plan which promised fatal disaster to the Union army. With all the other Federal commands paralyzed, the danger to McClellan's army cannot be overstated.[2] In fact, it was one of the most threatening situations for the Army of the Potomac in the whole Civil War.

McClellan's army was in great danger [3] in its faulty position, with its effectives for battle diminished by the need to guard its communications.[4] His enemy, operating from Richmond, had no such disadvantage, and could attack with his entire force. As pre-arranged, Jackson had joined Lee June 26, and McClellan faced the largest army ever put into the field by the Confederacy. Never again in Civil War was the South able to gather so strong a force. Not only was the Southern army superior in effectives engaged,[5] but the Army of Northern Virginia was commanded by Lee, seconded by his ablest executives, Jackson, Longstreet, the Hills, etc.

McDowell's corps had been promised as late as June 26,[6] but providentially McClellan had divined Lee's plan, and realized that Jackson would arrive [7] instead of McDowell. In this great emergency McClellan devised his perfect counter against Lee's plan, to move his army by the left to the James River, and thus neutralize Lee's concentration against the Union right. This is the outstanding military fact in this misunderstood campaign, and the move that defeated Lee's whole plan of campaign was McClellan's own conception.

[1] "Jackson was called in advance of his command to meet the Hills and myself at General Lee's headquarters for conference on the execution. . . . He was there before us, having ridden fifty miles by relay of horses since midnight (June 23)." — Longstreet, C.S.A.

[2] "While McDowell, Banks and Fremont remained motionless, all the Confederate forces were massing in order to crush the army of McClellan." — Comte de Paris.

[3] "McClellan could not possibly maintain himself where he was." — Ropes.

[4] "The absolute necessity of maintaining an unbroken communication with the base of supplies." — Ropes.

[5] Effectives engaged: Union Army in "Seven Days" 91,169; Confederate, 95,481. — Livermore, U.S.A., *Numbers and Losses*.

[6] Dispatch from Stanton, June 26, 1862.

[7] McClellan received the first definite warning of the approach of Jackson through a deserter, who was brought in on June 24.

It is well called by the Comte de Paris an "inspiration."[1]

It is a strange comment upon the harsh criticism of the time, to realize that the very qualities of careful preparation, which were then most criticised in McClellan, were necessary factors in the ensuing operations. McClellan's preparations for this unexpected manoeuvre were characteristically perfected — and these preparations insured the success of what has since been called the "Change of Base." McClellan had the country on the proposed line of march surveyed, and maps made, which were very necessary in such a country where maps were unknown.[2] He also had ordered steamboats to a rendezvous near Malvern Hill as early as June 18.[3] Consequently this sudden shift of McClellan's army was founded upon the sound precautions of preparations made well in advance, which gave the Union General a sure basis for acting in this great emergency. In fact, it was only thus possible for McClellan to execute an unsuspected move, which left Lee at a loss.

The alternative of "swinging his left into Richmond," so often harped upon in wartime writings as the correct move, had been placed before a council of officers by McClellan, and properly rejected as out of the question.[4] It was evident that this would have helped Lee's plan of destroying McClellan's right and cutting his communications. That theory has only been retained by writers who did not know the formidable strength of Lee's army at this time.

As explained, Lee planned his attack for June 27, to throw his main strength against McClellan's right north of the Chickahominy at Gaines' Mill. He fully expected to de-

[1] "This ordeal suggested to him (McClellan) the finest inspiration of his career." — Comte de Paris.

[2] "From the data furnished by these officers maps were prepared in case the movement to the James should be decided on." — Ropes, also Comte de Paris.

[3] Comte de Paris.

[4] "It was McClellan himself who . . . thought of taking advantage of the enemy's movement against his right wing to throw himself upon unprotected Richmond.

"But let us ask, did this plan, the failure of which would have involved the destruction of the whole army, offer any tangible and lasting advantage in the event of success? Once master of Richmond, McClellan would soon have been besieged in turn by the conquerors of Gaines' Mill." — Comte de Paris.

stroy or capture the Union army, and said so at the time;[1] but it is evident that Lee was mistaken as to McClellan's plans, and did not have any idea of the proposed movement to the James River.

Believing that McClellan's only line of retreat was down the Peninsula, Lee was confident that he would crush McClellan's right by superior numbers — and then overwhelm the rest of the Union army in retreat. That McClellan's right wing would slip away to the left, out of touch, over the Chickahominy River, never entered his calculations,[2] although many bridges had been built across the river by McClellan.

The situation on June 26 was most dramatic. Lee was massing his strength, to attack McClellan's right flank and rear across the Chickahominy, and it was only McClellan's perception of Lee's plan, and his preparations to counter it by his bold move,[3] that averted a disaster.[4]

The Confederate forces north of the Chickahominy included the commands of Jackson, Longstreet and the two Hills. McClellan, as we have seen, had anticipated this dangerous concentrated attack against his right, and had planned to avoid it by shifting his whole army from the right to the left to a secure base on the James River. This shift of the Union army to the left meant the defeat of Lee's plan. The bulk of Lee's army was thus concentrated against the Union right north of the Chickahominy, and, by shifting the whole Union army to the left, these main Con-

[1] "Under ordinary circumstances the Federal Army should have been destroyed." — Lee, C.S.A. Report.

"The Confederates had laboured under the conviction that the capitulation of McClellan and all his troops would be the inevitable result of the campaign." — Comte de Paris.

". . . Anticipations that General McClellan was soon to be his prisoner . . . that General McClellan's army was in our power and must be our prize." — Longstreet, C.S.A.

[2] "A great but very natural error on Lee's part." — Dodge, U.S.A.

[3] "Such was the bold and masterly plan conceived by McClellan, in response to the movement of his opponent, which he had divined even before it had commenced." — Comte de Paris.

"In the emergency he showed himself well equipped in the science of war." — Longstreet, C.S.A.

[4] "General Lee thought the enemy had essayed a move not practicable." — Longstreet, C.S.A.

federate forces would find themselves out of touch with the Union army and on the wrong side of the Chickahominy. In the actual event, this was what happened. Lee's superior forces suddenly found themselves concentrated where there were no Union forces to destroy. If the reader will keep this in mind, the real course of events will be understood.

Pursuing his plan, and confident of the result, Lee attacked the right of McClellan's army north of the Chickahominy on June 27th with the massed commands of Longstreet, A. P. Hill, D. H. Hill, and Jackson. (Battle of Gaines' Mill, June 27, 1862.) This was the real beginning of the "Seven Days," although the affair of the Union advance at Mechanicsville (June 26) is also included. This clash at Mechanicsville was of no importance, and the Union advanced troops (McCall, etc.) were withdrawn in the night to rejoin the Federal forces at Gaines' Mill. On the morning of June 27 all were gathered near this place and ready for an assault.

This Union position north of the Chickahominy had been made as strong as possible. "Timber had been felled, rifle-pits dug, and the position generally prepared with a care that greatly contributed to the success of the day." [1] These protections, devised from improvised shelters, at Gaines' Mill have been called the first "hasty intrenchments," [2] in the modern sense. This was the dawn of the tactical use of hasty intrenchments which reached full development in the Civil War. "The art of constructing and using hasty intrenchments on the field of battle is a contribution from America to the war knowledge of the world," [3] and this product of the Civil War dominated the tactics of the World War.

As a result of these wise preparations, Porter, who commanded north of the Chickahominy, reinforced by Slocum's division (Union effectives 34,214), although greatly outnumbered (Confederate effectives 57,018),[4] was able to

[1] McClellan, U.S.A.

[2] "But it was not until the battle of Gaines' Mill that we find any hasty intrenchments in the proper acceptation of the term." — Wagner, U.S.A.

[3] Wagner, U.S.A.

[4] Livermore, U.S.A., *Numbers and Losses.*

repulse all the attacks of the Confederates until nightfall. The only breaks in his lines were made when it was too late for the Southern generals to follow up their advantage.[1]

The Union losses at Gaines' Mill were 6836. The Confederates lost 8751.

Some critics have blamed McClellan for not withdrawing his troops across the Chickahominy on June 26, without waiting for the attack on June 27. But by so doing he would have prematurely revealed to Lee his plan to move by the left. The sequel of the campaign showed how much McClellan gained by drawing Lee's main army over to his right flank, and thus committing Lee to his mistaken plan. If McClellan had begun his manoeuvre on June 26, he would have lost all this advantage, and he would have had Lee's main body pressing upon him in close pursuit, instead of at a loss which way to turn, as was the case after Gaines' Mill.

After dark on the night of the 27th, Porter, unsuspected and consequently unmolested by the Confederates, safely passed his command across the Chickahominy River — and McClellan's whole army began the movement by the left to the position previously chosen on the James River at Malvern Hill. Nothing shows the complete surprise of this move to the enemy more clearly than the fact that the Union army was always able, in the following days, to choose its own ground[2] and beat off the attacks of Lee, who had been left on the other side of the Chickahominy River, with the bulk of his forces.

The Confederate Commander was never able to regain the ground lost by concentrating his main forces against McClellan's right, which had so easily slipped away from him. For a time Lee was actually out of touch with the Union army — and could not solve the riddle of McClellan's plan.[3] In Lee's own words, the Southern general was " com-

[1] " Stancher defence to more brilliant assault was never made." — Dodge, U.S.A.

[2] " Through this campaign we attacked just when and where the enemy wished us to attack." — D. H. Hill, C.S.A.

[3] " Mistaken as to McClellan's real design." Comte de Paris, also Ropes, etc. " Notwithstanding precautions so carefully laid, McClellan started to march for his new base on the night of the 27th." — Longstreet, C.S.A. " On the 29th Gen. Lee ascertained that McClellan was marching toward the James." — Longstreet, C.S.A.

pelled to wait until his (McClellan's) purpose should be developed." [1] It is impressive to pause and think what these words of the Confederate General implied. They meant that, so far as Lee was concerned, McClellan's whole army had disappeared, and Lee had no idea of where it had gone. Lee was at a standstill, puzzled as to which way to turn, and this was one of the few occasions in the war when the resourceful Southern Commander-in Chief was placed in a situation where he was at a loss for his manoeuvre.

McClellan, before his perplexed antagonist could find him and forestall him, moved his army steadily by the left south to the James. The Confederate General D. H. Hill's statement shows plainly enough his opinion of the achievement. "Escape seemed impossible for him, but he did escape, at the same time inflicting heavy damage upon his pursuers." The fact that the huge Union train, of five thousand wagons and twenty-five hundred cattle, was safely moved, sheltered by the army, showed the skill with which this difficult manoeuvre was conducted,[2] and this will also give an idea of the scope of the operation.

There was not much fighting on the 28th. The day was lost by Lee,[3] on account of the mistake of the Southern Commander as to McClellan's real intentions, and Lee's failure to find out where the Union army had gone. It was not until early in the morning of June 29 that Lee received the first definite information of the "Change of Base," [4] and was certain that he must change his plans. This delay was fatal to all Lee's hopes. By June 29 McClellan had been given time to complete his arrangements and the success of the change of base was practically assured. When Lee awoke to the situation and hurried his troops across the river, it was too late to threaten seriously the Union army, which was already, by June 29, on its way to the James.

[1] Lee's, C.S.A. Report. "In the latter event (a retreat down the Peninsula) it was necessary that our troops should continue on the north bank of the river, and until the intention of General McClellan was discovered it was deemed injudicious to change their disposition." *Ib.*

[2] "With consummate skill he had crossed his vast train of five thousand wagons." — D. H. Hill, C.S.A., also Ropes, etc.

[3] "It was too late to remedy his mistake; the whole previous day (28th) had been wasted." — Comte de Paris.

[4] "Account of the enemy's move on his change of base — this was the first information we had from a reliable source." — Longstreet, C.S.A.

On this day (June 29) the Confederate General Magruder, who had been south of the Chickahominy from the first, was beaten off by Franklin's and Sumner's corps at Allen's Farm (Savage Station) and both corps safely crossed the great White Oak Swamp, Sumner's corps being the last of the Union army to cross.[1] This meant that the most hazardous part of the movement was over.

The vast trains, slowly moving on their way to Malvern Hill, needed all the available roads, and, unless they were to be sacrificed, it was necessary for the Federal army to take up a position for their defense, in order to give them time to get to the James River.[2] McClellan, therefore, decided to devote the 30th to thus safeguarding his trains by making a defensive stand throughout that day to cover their withdrawal. The various corps were put in position by McClellan in person,[3] and every disposition was made to repel attacks of the enemy. The Union General, who throughout the execution of his plan had assured himself of the movements of each corps,[4] then rode over to Malvern Hill to choose the ground for what he rightly judged would be the critical battle of the change of base.

On June 30 Lee made desperate efforts to get his army up in force sufficient to shake the Union army, but he was unable to do so — and the Confederate attacks throughout the 30th were easily repulsed. This battle is known indifferently as that of Frayser's Farm, Nelson's Farm, or Glendale.

At the time, Lee was much disappointed by the failure of his division commanders to concentrate against the Union army in sufficient strength to make a successful attack, when the Army of the Potomac was making this stand on June 30 to protect its supply trains.[5] But it should be re-

[1] The Army of the Potomac was now with all its artillery and trains south of White Oak Swamp." — Ropes.

[2] "Obliged to take up a defensive position during the whole of the 30th." — Ropes.

[3] "These arrangements were made by McClellan in person." — Ropes.

[4] "He was therefore obliged throughout the whole of this dangerous expedition to assure himself personally of the direction indicated to each of his corps." — Comte de Paris.

[5] "It was General Lee's intention that . . . all his divisions should participate." — Ropes.

membered that Lee's lieutenants had been far out of touch, as a consequence of McClellan's move to the left, and they had a great deal of lost distance to make up. This was the reason for the inability of the Confederates to make stronger attacks on June 30, and it is to be noted that, at this unexpected contretemps, Jackson was the most dilatory of all, in great contrast to his rapid movements against the incompetents in the Valley.

In fact, as has been explained, McClellan's surprising move had rendered out of the question any of the dazzling combinations of Lee and his lieutenants. Consequently the Army of the Potomac was not only able to beat off all Confederate attacks, but also to withdraw, on the night of June 30, in good order and unmolested upon the initiative of the Union corps commanders, to the positions at Malvern Hill on the James River. All danger of disaster to the Army of the Potomac was thus ended on July 1.[1]

As has been stated, McClellan had ridden over to Malvern Hill the previous day and had been hard at work arranging a strong position for the Union army in the deciding battle, which he knew must follow. This had all been worked out, and, as the army arrived, the Union troops were assigned to their proper positions by McClellan, assisted by Porter, who had been on the ground with him. The trains and the great herd of beef-cattle were sheltered, and the artillery was especially well placed. McClellan's skilful use of his artillery here, as later at Antietam, is deserving of praise. Consequently, instead of the disorder usual after any such withdrawing movement when exposed to enemy attacks, the Union army at Malvern Hill was in good order and in a carefully studied position of great strength. "The last Federal troops reached Malvern on the 1st of July at ten o'clock in the morning. Before going on board the *Galena* to make a reconnaissance, McClellan himself posted these troops upon the ground, which he had examined the day before, giving to their line the form of a vast semicircle. . . . The army thus guarded all the approaches to Malvern, bringing the two wings close to the banks of the river."[2]

[1] "Gen. Lee's opportunity . . . had now passed. The critical period of the movement was over." — Ropes. [2] Comte de Paris.

It was only against this chosen strong position of the Army of the Potomac that Lee was at last able to assemble his army, for what proved to be the last fighting of the Seven Days (Battle of Malvern Hill, July 1, 1862).[1] Although the Southern general had failed to deliver any destructive attacks upon McClellan's army, which he had thought at his mercy,[2] Lee still believed that there must be demoralization in the Army of the Potomac.[3] He left out of his calculations the careful preparations that had been made in advance for the Union movement to the James — and above all things he did not realize the strength of the well laid out position in which the Union army awaited his attack.[4] This mistake led Lee into one of the most useless and costly assaults of the war. It is easy to understand the feeling of Lee, that he must make one last effort to prevent the escape of what he had deemed his prey. It is also clear that it was a surprise to find a well-organized Union resistance, where he had expected confusion and loss of morale after retreat. But in the battle of July 1, which lasted until nine in the evening, Lee was never able to coördinate the attacks of his divisions.[5]

The attacks were made by each individual general, without any understanding with his neighbors. Consequently they all had the same issue. . . . This time the Confederates had experienced a defeat unmitigated by any compensation. The great effort they had made to repair the errors committed on the preceding days had signally failed. Their divisions, exhausted and diminished by six days' marching and fighting, had been led to the assault of formidable positions without order or unity of action, and had paid dearly for the confidence of their generals — a confidence which, since the victory of Gaines' Mill, had become

[1] "The retreat of the Federals, however, had at last enabled Lee to bring the two wings of his army together." — Comte de Paris.

[2] "The army which they thought, after the battle of Gaines' Mill, they held shut up within a network of iron, had escaped with all its material." — Comte de Paris.

[3] "Belief in the demoralization of the Federal army that made our leader risk the attack." — D. H. Hill, C.S.A.

[4] "He (Lee) found out his error by the time the action was over. The Federal position on Malvern Hill was wisely selected; the troops and guns were skilfully posted on it." — Ropes.

[5] "Even when the battle is raging with the greatest violence, Lee, as we have seen, has not succeeded in preserving concert of action." — Comte de Paris.

positive presumption. Their losses were enormous and out of all proportion to those they had inflicted upon their adversaries. So useless a sacrifice of life troubled and disconcerted them.

These quotations from the Comte de Paris present the situation in a broad vivid way — and this verdict has been confirmed by the established facts. The other early versions were founded on the false assumption that McClellan had superior forces and should have won impossibilities. Now that the truth is known, as to the strength of Lee's army and the possible results of his concentration of forces, this statement of the Comte de Paris stands as a clear exposition of the real military situation.

At the end of the day of July 1, Lee had realized that his case was hopeless, and he had withdrawn his army. The Army of the Potomac was therefore left free to withdraw, practically unmolested, to Harrison's Landing on the following night. It was a trying march in a rain that had begun after the battle, and there was much straggling. But the fighting of the Seven Days was over. Harrison's Landing was a secure base on the James.

"A fleet of transports soon came to cast anchor in front of the army, and a few hours later the wagons were carrying rations to all the divisions of the army. . . . The army was soon rested and organized."[1] This was a practical sermon on the advantages of a base that could be supplied by waterways, as Lee, hampered by the difficulties of supplying his army, had fallen back to the environs of Richmond.

In the "Seven Days" the Union loss was 15,849. The Confederates lost 20,614.[2] These Confederate losses, added to their losses at Fair Oaks, etc., make the Peninsula Campaign one of the few in the war where a Union army inflicted heavy damaging losses upon the Confederates, with less losses on the Union side. This is also a phase of the situation which has not been sufficiently recognized. In view of the general military situation, which has been explained, the very fact of a Union army inflicting greater losses upon a Confederate army was an important result.

[1] Comte de Paris.
[2] Livermore, U.S.A.

With Lee's army withdrawn, McClellan urged the Administration to reinforce the Army of the Potomac sufficiently to push an offensive campaign against Richmond from the James.[1] It is evident that operations from the James as a base would have pinned Lee's army and kept up a pressure upon him, only to be measured by the reinforcements sent to the Army of the Potomac.

Unfortunately Stanton had ordered Halleck and Pope to Washington. Halleck was made Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army, and it was decided to give Pope an army for a campaign north of Richmond. In these selections the Secretary of War gave the strongest evidence of his lack of judgment in the choice of men to command. This was his greatest failing, and this neutralized all the benefit of his self-confident energy. General Halleck's reputation came from only the acts of his subordinates, especially Grant, and he was a very bad choice for the chief command,[2] being irresolute and vacillating in all emergencies. It is established that McClellan had placed before Halleck, in person, the advantages of seizing Petersburg. Here again the Count of Paris' narrative is well worth reading: "On the 25th of July, Halleck went at last to discuss this question with McClellan. The latter, with a sagacity which was to receive a striking vindication at a later period, pointed out to Halleck on the map the position of Petersburg[3] and proposed to him to seize it by crossing over to the south bank of the James. Once master of this point, he could cut the communications of Richmond with the south, and receive the fall of the capital without having to attack it in front. He was thus foreshadowing the plan followed precisely by Grant in the last campaign of the war, and when Halleck, according to his own statement, rejected it as dangerous and impracticable, he little foresaw the events which, two years later, so completely belied his predictions."[4]

[1] "Here is the true defense of Washington; it is here on the banks of the James, that the fate of the Union should be decided." — McClellan to Stanton.

[2] "Unfortunate selection." — Ropes.

[3] Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, Vol. I, Halleck's Memoir, p. 454.

[4] "He (McClellan) urges the capture of Petersburg, at the portals of which two years later so much blood will be spilled." — Dodge, U.S.A.

General Pope had won easy victories on the Mississippi, but his defects, which were fatal in the Manassas campaign that ensued, became self-evident from his own attitude at the beginning of his command, and his over-confidence brought him to disaster.

The choice of these two men by the Secretary of War ended all hopes of a campaign from a base on the James River. Two years of failure were destined to prove that the James River base was the key to Richmond.

This remarkable campaign was subjected to a flood of hostile criticism from its very inception. The plan itself, the execution, and the results, were all made matters of bitter controversy, and heated discussions prevented due recognition of the real ability, suddenly developed by McClellan, to deal with the imminent crisis, when Lee's brilliant concentration endangered the whole Union army. This irritation and impatience, coupled with the persistent error as to Lee's strength, also accounted for the general assumption at the time that McClellan should, somehow, have succeeded in taking Richmond.

There is only one way to take the real measure of the Peninsula campaign, and that is to ask the question, *Was it possible for McClellan to capture Richmond, with the army given to him, against the Confederate forces available for the defense of the city?* This question puts the matter on the right basis at once.

There cannot any longer be a question of the fact that Johnston and Lee, at all times, had sufficient troops to defend the city against the army McClellan commanded in the Peninsula campaign. If this Confederate strength has not become self-evident to the reader, it should also be remembered that this campaign received a vindication that is perhaps unique. Rarely in all history has it been possible to make a test of a situation by a repetition of the same problem. But, in the case of the Peninsula campaign of 1862, the problem was worked out again in Grant's campaign of 1864, and the solution of Grant confirmed that of McClellan.

After two years, Grant faced Lee on the same ground. The battlefield of Cold Harbor was close to that of Gaines' Mill — and Grant with a great superiority of numbers re-

verted to McClellan's plan, and made the same change of base to the James River.

In Grant's offensive of the Spring of 1864, the Union General had persisted in his attempts to batter his way through from the north. All his attacks had been without avail, and, in spite of his superiority of numbers,[1] Grant was finally repulsed [2] in the Wilderness campaign ending at Cold Harbor (the battlefield of Gaines' Mill), with losses fearfully near the total of the Confederate force opposed to him.[3] Lee's army in 1864 was a shadow compared with the army he had led against McClellan in 1862. Yet, Grant's idea of "fighting it out on this line" had utterly failed — and the discomfited Union general sent this dispatch to Halleck (June 5, 1864): "A full survey of all the ground satisfied me that it would be impracticable to hold a line north-east of Richmond. . . . Without a greater sacrifice of human life than I am willing to make all cannot be accomplished that I had designed outside of the city."

After this failure, Grant abandoned all attacks upon Lee's army and Richmond from the north. Although far stronger than Lee, Grant moved his army over to the James, just as McClellan had done in 1862. The long siege that followed, in spite of his immense superiority in numbers, justified McClellan's "delays." By that time the North had learned the lessons of the war, and did not any longer demand impossibilities of its generals. The superior numbers and long delays necessary for Grant to win against Lee in 1864 were taken as a matter of course; but it was still assumed in a vague undefined way that in 1862 McClellan should have accomplished miracles at once. There was no reasoning in this. If Grant was not able to win, with double Lee's numbers, why should it always afterwards be assumed that McClellan was able to win, with an army that possessed no winning superiority at any time? No one looked back to ask this question, after the test of strength in 1864.

[1] "During Grant's advance from the Rapidan, he had the advantage, of which he freely availed himself of ordering troops to his assistance, not begging for them as McClellan did in vain." — McMahon, U.S.A.

[2] "Its every manoeuvre had been checkmated; its every attack repulsed." — Dodge, U.S.A.

[3] Union Losses, Wilderness and Cold Harbor, 47,058. — Livermore, U.S.A.

The fact was also ignored that, in contrast to Grant's large losses with comparatively little damage to Lee, McClellan had inflicted much greater losses upon his enemy than his own army had received. The Peninsula Campaign had cost the Confederates about 30,000, in battle losses alone, and Lee was never again able to gather an army approaching the size of his force in the Seven Days. In results, Grant proved McClellan's case by doing exactly what McClellan had done, Grant's superiority in numbers emphasizing McClellan's vindication.

Another aspect of the two situations, of 1862 and 1864, should be considered. In 1864 this superiority in numbers, possessed by Grant, prohibited any danger of an offensive on the part of Lee. The Southern General was thus restricted to the defensive in 1864. But in 1862 the Administration had allowed Lee to gather superior numbers against McClellan for the Seven Days fighting. In fact this was the only time in the whole war when the Army of Northern Virginia was superior in effectives to the Army of the Potomac. Consequently the opportunity for a destructive offensive was offered to Lee, not to McClellan.

Lee's own admission in his Report stated the real situation: "Under ordinary circumstances the Federal Army should have been destroyed." Lee had made his brilliant plan, and felt sure of success. McClellan's unexpected manoeuvre balked Lee's plan, put Lee out of manoeuvre, and prevented his obtaining any results with this Confederate superiority. The result of the Seven Days was to place the Army of the Potomac securely on the James, with a base supplied by the waterways, after fighting that had caused much greater losses to the Confederates.

In 1862 the missed opportunity was Lee's, not McClellan's. This conclusion is now forced upon us. At the crisis of the Peninsula Campaign it was possible for Lee to overwhelm his enemy, but it was not possible for McClellan to overwhelm Lee. Yet, in the actual event, Lee was more damaged than McClellan. We cannot any longer ignore this result of the test of battle between McClellan and Lee.

Mr. CHARLES WARREN read a paper on

WHY JEFFERSON ABANDONED THE PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH TO CONGRESS.

On April 8, 1913, a Presidential practice of 112 years' standing was demolished, when President Wilson, accompanied by no private secretary or aide or Cabinet official, appeared before Congress and delivered, in person, his Message at the opening of the first and special Session of the Sixty-Third Congress. It had been the practice of all previous Presidents, with the exception of Washington and Adams, to send a Message in writing.

President Wilson, on the day before making his innovation, stated his reasons as follows:[1] "The reasons are very simple. I think that is the only dignified way for the President to address the Congress at the opening of the session. Instead of sending the address to be read perfunctorily in the Clerk's familiar tone of voice, I thought that the dignified and natural thing was to read it. It is a precedent which, it is true, has been discontinued a long time, but which is a very respectable precedent." The next day, he prefaced his Address to Congress with the following comments: "Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Congress: I am very glad indeed to have this opportunity to address the two Houses directly and to verify for myself the impression that the President of the United States is a person, not a mere Department of the Government, hailing Congress from some isolated island of jealous power, sending messages, not speaking naturally with his own voice; that he is a human being, trying to coöperate with other human beings in a common service. After this pleasant experience, I shall feel quite normal in all our dealings with one another."

On the day when the President's plan became known, it was the subject of an active debate in the Senate.[2] A Dem-

[1] The *New York Times*, April 8, 1913, stated in its Washington despatch: "Contrary to the usual rule at the White House, President Wilson today permitted himself to be quoted as to the reasons for his return to the custom of personal addresses."

[2] *Cong. Record*, 63rd Cong., 1st Sess., April 7, 1913.

ocratic Senator, John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, opposed it, saying:

> The old Federalist custom in imitation of the English custom of making speeches from the throne, when it was once disused, fell by unanimous consent into subsequent constant disuse and ridicule; because the common sense underlying the method of sending a written communication to Congress was obvious and plain to everybody, and because of the fact that it was so much more in accord with American republican institutions. . . . I shall not oppose the resolution, . . . but I do express my regret that the old Federalistic procedure should be revamped. . . . Even the change to Democratic-Republican legislation and measures, perhaps, did not do as much toward democratizing this Republic at that time, as did doing away with the levees, the receptions by the President's standing on a raised dais, with cocked hat and sword and other frumperies, and the "speeches from the throne," and the cavalcadings of Congress down to the President's House and all the balance of the little cheap and tawdry and tinsel imitations of British monarchical customs.

Senator Lodge, on the other hand, said that it was "an interesting reversion to an earlier system," but that "The President in coming to Congress and personally delivering his Address is only half carrying out the old practice, in behalf of which I think much can be said. I have no objection, whatever, of course, to the resolution and I shall be very glad to have it adopted."

The innovation was not received, with particular favor, by the newspaper press at the time. The *New York Times* said that it doubted the value of the new method:[1]

> Mr. Wilson acquitted himself admirably in his first attempt, but we do not believe that, however favorably his personality impressed Congress, his Address will impress the Nation more deeply than it would if it had been sent by messenger and read by a Clerk. . . . If he prefers to speak to Congress hereafter, instead of writing to it, Congress will probably submit with good grace. The wonder is that in seven years Theodore Roosevelt never thought of this way of stamping his personality upon his age.

[1] *New York Times*, April 7, 1913.

Since President Wilson continued to deliver most of his important Messages, in person;[1] and since President Harding adopted the practice, and the newspapers announce that President Coolidge will do the same, it is probable that the method adopted by Washington and Adams, and now resumed, may become permanent.

It becomes a matter, therefore, of historical interest to investigate the reasons which induced Jefferson to abandon the practice of his predecessors — an action for which he was violently and venomously assailed at the time. It will be found that his objection to Presidential messages delivered in person, arose out of his opposition, not to the speech but to its sequel — to the practice adopted by the Congress in making Addresses in reply (as Senator Lodge pointed out, in 1913). The history of these reply Addresses forms an extraordinary Chapter in American politics, which, so far as I know, has never been described in detail.

President Washington's Inaugural Address, in New York, on April 30, 1789, was delivered in the building known as Federal Hall, then recently constructed under designs of Major L'Enfant, located on the northeast corner of Wall and Nassau Streets. After the Address, Congress attended services in St. Paul's Church, and then, as William Maclay, Senator from Pennsylvania, recorded in his Diary: "The Senate returned to their chamber, after service, formed and took up the address. Our President [the Vice-President, John Adams] called it 'his most gracious speech.' I cannot approve of this." A Committee was then appointed "to prepare an answer to the President's Speech" — William Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, Charles Carroll of Maryland, and William Paterson of New Jersey. On May 1, Maclay moved to strike out from the minutes of the Senate, the words "most gracious speech"; for, he said: "We have lately had a hard struggle for our liberty, against kingly authority. The minds of men are still heated. Everything relating to that species of government is odious to the people. The words prefixed to the President's speech are the same

[1] After his Tariff Message of April 8, 1913, his next appearance, in person, was on the occasions of his Mexican Affairs Message of August 27, 1913, and at the opening of the Session, December 2, 1913.

that are usually placed before the Speech of his Britannic Majesty. I know they will give offense. I consider them as improper." The Vice-President expressed the "greatest surprise at the motion. He thought the people were for a dignified and respectable government." Maclay retorted that the enemies of the Constitution had objected to the new Government because of "the facility there would be of transition from it to kingly government, and all the trappings and splendor of royalty. If such a thing as this appeared on the minutes, they would not fail to represent it as the first step of the ladder in the ascent to royalty."

Richard Henry Lee supported Maclay's motion and the words "most gracious speech" were struck out.

The Senate Committee did not report a draft of an Address in reply to the President's Speech until May 7, when a long debate ensued. Senator Maclay recorded in the diary that as to the phrase in the Address referring to the President's having "rescued us from evils impending over us," which was adopted "more than half the Senate made sour faces over it." Maclay and Paine Wingate asked for reconsideration, and the Address was recommitted.

The Vice-President then drew the attention of the Senate to the manner of returning the answer to the President, saying there were three methods by which the President might communicate with the Senate; personally, or by a Minister of State, or by one of his aids. On a second report of the Committee, the answer after some debate was adopted. A Committee was appointed to confer with a House Committee on this subject.

Meanwhile, the House had been more prompt in its action. On May 1, it resolved as follows: "That an Address to the President ought to be prepared, expressing the congratulations of the House of Representatives, on the distinguished proof given him of the affection and confidence of his fellow citizens, by the unanimous suffrage which has appointed him to the high station which he fills; the approbation felt by the House of the patriotic sentiments and enlightened policy recommended by his speech; and assuring him of their disposition to concur in giving effect to every measure which may tend to secure the liberties, promote the har-

mony and advance the happiness and prosperity of their country." [1]

The Address (drafted by a Committee composed of James Madison of Virginia, George Clymer of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, George Gale of Maryland, and Egbert Benson of New York), was adopted by the House without Amendment, May 5; and the House "resolved that the Speaker attended by the Members of this House do present the said Address to the President," and that Thomas Sinnickson of New Jersey, Isaac Coles of Virginia, and William Smith of South Carolina be a Committee "to wait on the President to know when it will be convenient for him to receive the same." The Committee reported, May 7, that the President "signified that it would be convenient to him to receive the said Address at 12 o'clock on Friday at such place as the House shall be pleased to appoint. Whereupon *resolved* that, as the Chamber designed for the President's receiving the respective Houses, is not yet prepared, this House will wait on the President to present their Address in the room adjacent to the Representatives' Chamber." On May 8, "the Speaker attended by the Members of the House withdrew to the room adjoining the Representatives' Chamber and there presented to the President of the United States the Address."

The Senate was not yet ready to act, for its time had been taken up by a long and excited debate over the title by which the President should be addressed, and it finally voted for "His Highness, the President of the United States of America and Protector of the Rights of the same." Learning that the House would not concur in this title, the matter was dropped; but it was not until May 14, that the Senate directed the Committee to wait on the President "and requested him to appoint the time when it will be agreeable to receive the Address of the Senate at his own House"; and the next day, on the Committee's report, the Senate voted "that the Senate should wait on the President at his own House on Monday next, at quarter after 11 o'clock and that the Vice-President then present the Address of the Senate." Accordingly, on May 18, the Senate, headed by the Vice-

[1] *Annals of Congress*, 1st Cong. 1st Sess.

President, proceeded in carriages, to the house then occupied by the President at No. 3 Cherry Street — a house situated less than half a mile from Federal Hall, and owned by Samuel Osgood of Massachusetts, Postmaster General.

In reply to the Answer, the President "was pleased to make" a short speech. Senator Maclay, in his Diary gave a detailed and amusingly sarcastic account of the ceremony, noting that the President was "much confused" and embarrassed by having his hat, paper and spectacles, all in his hands.

The significant feature of the ceremony, both in the Senate and the House, was the personal attendance of all the members; for theretofore the replies of the various Colonial and State Legislatures to the Speeches made in person by the Royal and State Governors had been presented through Committees; and even the English Parliament waited in person upon the King rarely and only on very special occasions.[1] It is to be noted also that the suggestion that the Address be presented to the President at his own residence originated, not with the President, but with the Senate itself; and the House did not follow the Senate's lead in this matter, but required the President to come to Federal Hall to receive the House's Address. Washington's Inaugural Address and the initiation of the new Federal Government being a very special and momentous event, there could be little legitimate objection to the adoption of the English form of ceremony for this particular purpose of a personal visit of congratulation. But when the ceremony was repeated at the next session of Congress and continued at each succeeding session, it then assumed the aspect of a practice which might well be open to some objections. It is interesting to note that the Anti-Federalists later attributed the adoption of this practice to Alexander Hamilton, who was referred to, in the following extravagant terms, by a writer in 1795:[2]

[1] See *Boston Gazette,* Dec. 28, 1795: "The House of Commons only proceed in a body to return an answer to the King's speech on extraordinary occasions. The commonplace, even among them, is, to return answer by a Committee."

[2] Letter of "Codrus" in *Aurora,* quoted in *Boston Gazette,* Dec. 28, 1795. It is doubtful whether Hamilton was responsible for the practice, for his

This practice, so abject, so degrading to the representatives of free men, was borrowed from the corrupt monarchy of Great Britain, and legitimatized among us by a man whose views have ever been hostile to republicanism, whose plans have carried with them the poison of liberty and whose general principles and conduct would have suited the Meridian of Constantinople. To this man, whose very name is a libel upon morality, is owing the discontents of our country, the corruptions of our government, the prostitution of our national honor, the violation of our faith, and in a word everything that is disgraceful, dishonorable and perfidious in our government.

The President's Speech to the second session of the First Congress was delivered in the Senate Chamber in Federal Hall in New York, January 8, 1790.[1] It was reported in the newspapers as follows: [2]

Yesterday at 11 o'clock, the President of the United States proceeded to the Senate Chamber, attended by the Chief Justice, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary at War, and his private suite — the two Houses of Congress having previously convened for the purpose, the President on the opening of the present session was pleased to make the following Speech: "Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives. . . . The President was dressed in a plain suit of American manufactured cloth when he delivered his Speech to Congress yesterday. The doors of the Senate Chamber were open and many citizens admitted.

Senator Maclay recorded:

January 8. All this morning but bustle about the Senate in hauling chairs and removing tables. The President was dressed

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letter to Washington of May 5, 1789, "on the etiquette proper to be observed by the President," makes no mention of either a speech or an address.

[1] Maclay records, Dec. 7, 1790, that there was a difference of opinion between the two branches of Congress, as to whether the President's Speech should be delivered in the Senate or the House Chamber. It was settled by the President himself notifying a joint Committee that he would deliver his Speech on Jan. 8, in the Senate.

[2] *New York Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 9, 1790; the *Gazette of the United States* (N. Y.), Jan. 9, 1790, said: "At eleven o'clock, the President of the United States attended by his Aids and Secretary was received by the two Houses of Congress in the Senate Chamber, when he was pleased to make the following Speech." The session began on January 4, but no quorum appeared until three days later.

in a second mourning, and read his speech well. The Senate, headed by their President, were on his right. The House of Representatives, with their Speaker, were on his left. His family, with the heads of departments, attended. The business was soon over, and the Senate were left alone. The speech was committed rather too hastily, as Mr. Butler thought, who made some remarks on it, and was called to order by the Chair. He resented the call, and some altercation ensued.

In the Senate, a Committee (consisting of Rufus King of New York, Ralph Izard of South Carolina and William Paterson of New Jersey) reported the draft of an Address which was recorded by William Maclay:

The most servile echo I ever heard. There was, however, no mending it. One part of it seemed like pledging the Senate to pay the whole amount of the public debt. This was, however, altered. Many of the clauses were passed, without either aye or no, in silent disapprobation. I told both King and Patterson that I had never heard so good an echo, for it repeated all the words entire. They both denied that they had anything to do with it, and said it was Izard's work.

When the motion was made that the Address "be presented by the Vice-President, attended by the Senate" and that the Committee "wait upon the President and desire to be informed at what time and place he will receive the same," Maclay, who was a strong Anti-Federalist, strongly opposed the continuance of such a ceremony. As he recorded in his Diary:

January 12. I made an unsuccessful motion when it was proposed that the whole Senate should wait on the President, with the answer to the speech. First, I wished for delay, that we might see the conduct adopted by the House of Representatives. I thought it likely they would do the business by a *Committee*. In that case, I wished to imitate them; and as a committee with us had done all the business so far, I wished it to continue in their hands, that they might have exclusively all the *honors attendant on the performance*. That I, as a republican, was, however, opposed to the whole business of echoing speeches. It was a stale ministerial trick in Britain, to get the Houses of Parliament to chime in with the speech, and then consider them as pledged

to support any measure which could be grafted on the speech. It was the Socratic mode of argument introduced into politics, to entrap men into measures they were not aware of. I wished to treat the speech in quite a different manner. I would commit it, for the purpose of examining whether the subjects recommended in it were proper for the Senate to act upon. If they were found to be so, I would have committees appointed, to bring forward the necessary bills. But we seem to neglect the useful, and content ourselves with compliments, only, and dangerous ones, too. But for my part, I would not consider myself as committed by anything contained in the answer.

The Senate overruled Maclay's objections, and the Committee reported that "it would be agreeable to the President to receive the Address on Thursday next at 11 o'clock at his own House."[1]

Meanwhile, in the House, the President's Speech was read by the Clerk, on the day after its delivery, and was committed to a Committee of the Whole, which then voted: "Resolved, as the sense of this Committee that an Address be presented by the House to the President of the United States in answer to his speech in both Houses, with assurances that this House will, without delay, proceed to take into their consideration the various and important matters recommended to their attention." William Smith of South Carolina, George Clymer of Pennsylvania and John Laurance of New York, appointed a committee to prepare the Address, reported a draft two days later, which was debated on January 12. A suggestion having been made to change the wording, Jeremiah Wadsworth of Connecticut, said that while not questioning the right to amend he would vote against every mere alteration of style, since "the composition of two or three gentlemen done with deliberation and coolness generally had more elegance and pertinence than the patchwork of a large assembly." John Page of Virginia on the other hand thought the Address ought to be given "the highest degree of perfection." The Address being accepted, the House appointed a Committee "to wait upon the President to learn from him at what time and in what place he would receive this Address." Accordingly, on that

[1] *Annals of Congress*, 1st Cong., 2nd Sess., Jan. 12, 1790.

date, the two Houses, the Senate at 11 o'clock, headed by the Vice-President, and the House at 12 o'clock, headed by the Speaker, and accompanied by the respective Sergeants at Arms, "proceeded from Federal Hall in carriages to the residence of the President."[1]

Maclay's comment on the occasion was as follows:

We went in coaches. Got our answer, which was short. Returned in coaches. Sauntered an hour in the Senate Chamber, and adjourned. Every error in government will work its own remedy, among a free people. I think both Senators and Representatives are tired of making themselves the gazing stock of the crowd, and the subject of remark by the sycophantic circle that surround the President, in stringing to his quarters; and I trust the next session will either do without this business altogether, or do it by a small committee, that need not interrupt the business of either House I have aimed at this point all along. It is evident, from the President's speech, that he wishes everything to fall into the British mode of business. *I have directed the proper officers to lay before you,* etc. Compliments for him, and business for them. He is but a man, but really a good one; and we can have nothing to fear from him; but much from the precedent he may establish.

The third session of the First Congress met for the first time in Philadelphia in the new Federal Hall, at the southeast corner of 6th and Chestnut Streets. The President delivered his speech on December 8, 1790; and Maclay recorded that it was "attended with all the bustle and hurry usual on such occasions. The President was dressed in black, and read his Speech well enough, or at least tolerably. After he was gone, and the Senate only remained, Our President [John Adams, whom Maclay bitterly disliked], seemed to take great pains to read it better. If he had such a view, he succeeded; but the difference between them amounted to this: one might be considered at home and the other in strange company."

[1] *Independent Chronicle* (Boston), Jan. 28, 1790; *New York Daily Advertiser,* Jan. 13, 14, 15, 1790; *Gazette of the United States* (N. Y.), Jan. 10, 1790. Later in the year, 1790, Washington removed to the McComb House which stood on the site of the present No. 39 Broadway (almost next door to the house of Robert R. Livingston) and which was not two blocks away from the Federal Hall.

The Addresses of the two Houses were delivered at the President's residence, at the time set by him, the Senate at noon, the House at two o'clock on December 13. As the house occupied by the President was located on the south side of Market Street, between 5th and 6th Streets, less than two blocks of the Hall where Congress sat, the procession of upwards of 30 Senators and 80 Representatives riding in carriages for this short distance became almost ridiculous.[1]

The Address of the House had now changed from a mere exchange of compliments to an active discussion of the political questions agitating the country. While the Senate adopted the Address prepared by its Committee (Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, Ralph Izard of South Carolina, and Rufus King of New York), on the very day after the President's Speech, the House took four days to debate the resolution for an Answer (the draft of which was prepared by James Madison, of Virginia, Fisher Ames of Massachusetts, and Thomas T. Tucker of South Carolina).[2] James Jack-

[1] The President's residence was a large, double, brick house, in a tree-shaded garden, which had formerly been the headquarters of Sir William Howe in the war, later occupied by Benedict Arnold, later by the French Consul-General, and recently by Robert Morris. It is interesting to note that the State of Pennsylvania had resolved to erect a house for the President on a site in 9th Street, between Market and Chestnut Streets. Its cornerstone was laid, May 10, 1792; and on Nov. 9, 1792, the *American Daily Advertiser* (Phil.) referred to the great improvements in the city and the increase of public buildings, "particularly the sumptuous edifice intended for the accommodation of the President, which in point of convenience, elegance and magnificence has no equal on the Continent." On May 12, 1796, the *Independent Chronicle* (Boston) said that: "A Correspondent who has visited the President's House at the Federal City says that the kitchen alone is large enough to hold the House of Representatives in Congress and that the Senate may find room to sit in the chimney corner. He cannot conceive where a President will be found who is able to buy suitable furniture for such immense apartments"; to which the *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), May 14, 1796, retorted: "This is well, but the same correspondent might have added that the ash-hole is large enough and calculated to hold all the Jacobin Clubs in the United States"; and for a reply of a somewhat indecorous nature, see *Independent Chronicle*, May 27, 1796:

President Washington never occupied this House built by the State, and President Adams on its completion in 1797, declined, on the ground that he doubted his authority to accept the State's offer. The house was sold in 1800 to the University of Pennsylvania; see Oberholzer, *History of Philadelphia*, I. 339, 342, 370, 381.

[2] *Annals of Cong.*, Dec. 9, 10, 13, 1791; *New York Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 13, 15, 16, 1790.

son of Georgia moved to strike out from the resolution, the assurance to the President that it would consider all his recommendations, since, he said, "on reflection, the public good might be better promoted by deferring consideration of some of the matters." William Smith, of South Carolina, said that such an omission would reduce the resolution to a mere bald declaration that the House would answer a speech "which their duty and civility both directed and which could only be looked on as a matter of course." Hugh Williamson of North Carolina thought it was the duty of the House to pay the strictest attention to everything the President recommended. Later on, there was considerable debate over Madison's draft of the Address itself.

To the first Session of the Second Congress, President Washington made his Speech, October 25, 1791, in the Senate Chamber at 12 o'clock, when he was "attended by Mr. Secretary Lear and Major Jackson, and accompanied by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of State, the Secretary at War and the Attorney General."[1]

In the House, John Vining of Delaware moved a resolution: "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that an Address should be presented to the President of the United States by the House of Representatives in answer to his speech, to congratulate him on the prosperous situation of the United States, expressive of the approbation of the House of the wise and prudent measures he has pursued during their recess, in the execution of the duties committed to his charge; promising speedy attention to the important and momentous objects recommended to their consideration, and expressing their approbation of the humane and effectual steps taken under his direction for the defence of the Western frontiers." The resolution was objected to by John Laurance of New York, Theodore Sedgwick of Massachusetts and William Smith of South Carolina, upon the principle that it expressed the sense of the House upon points which required further information and investigation before the House could with propriety determine. It was difficult to say, before proper documents were laid before the House, whether the measures adopted for the defence of the Western

[1] *Gazette of the United States*, Oct. 26, 29, 1791.

frontiers were the most prudent that could be adopted. It was impossible positively to assert that the President in the execution of the duties assigned him in carrying into effect the Excise Act had done all for the best. Every member that spoke agreed in expressing his individual opinion that no doubt the President had acted with his wonted prudence and wisdom in the execution of the trusts reposed in him; but also agreed that it was improper, indeed it was no compliment paid to the President, to approve before a formal examination." Accordingly, Vining's resolution as to an Address was drastically cut, so as to read simply as follows: "That an answer be returned to the President's Address, containing assurances of speedy attention to the important objects recommended to the consideration of the Legislature." The Address itself (prepared by Madison, Laurance and Smith), was adopted without Amendment, and was presented to the President on October 28. The Address of the Senate, drafted by Aaron Burr of New York, George Cabot of Massachusetts, and Samuel Johnston of North Carolina, evidently occasioned more trouble, for it was not presented until three days later (October 31).

To the second session of the Second Congress, the President made his Speech on November 6, 1792. The Senate's Address (drafted by Caleb Strong, Rufus King of New York and John Rutherford of New Jersey), after being amended was presented to the President at his new residence on November 9; and the House's Address (drafted by Madison, Egbert Benson of New York and William Vans Murray of Maryland), after being debated and amended, was presented, November 12.[1]

To the first session of the Third Congress, President Washington made his speech in the Senate Chamber, December 3, 1793, at 12 o'clock, accompanied by the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary at War,

[1] The House, on Nov. 7, 1792, appointed a Committee to prepare an Address "with assurance that they would take into consideration the important matters therein contained." An Amendment was moved to strike out the word "important," but it "was negatived as being a word of too much importance to be neglected." *American Daily Advertiser,* Nov. 8, 1792. On November 12, 1792, "The Speaker, preceded by the Sergeant at Arms and attended by the Members of the House, waited on the President." *National Gazette,* Nov. 14, 1792.

and the Attorney General and in the presence of a large assemblage of citizens and foreigners." The Address of the Senate (prepared by Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, Pierce Butler and Ralph Izard of South Carolina, John Langdon of New Hampshire and John Rutherford of New Jersey) was apparently debated for some time and amended, and was not presented to the President for a week (December 10). The House Address (prepared by Madison, Theodore Sedgwick of Massachusetts, John Watts of New York, Thomas Hartley of Pennsylvania, and Samuel Smith of Maryland) was adopted unanimously and without Amendment, and presented on December 7.[1]

Thus far, for the four years from April 1789 to April, 1793, Washington's Administration had been a comparatively peaceful one. Hence, the debates over these Addresses of Congress in reply to the President's Speeches had aroused no serious political dispute between the Legislative and the Executive branches.

But the custom of making these Addresses, and especially the practice of the Senate and of the House in going *en masse* to the President's residence to deliver them had been, from the very outset, a source of heated criticism.

From the date of the very early debate in the Senate in the First Congress over the titles to be given to the President and Vice-President, there had been an increasing opposition to anything savoring of monarchy; the holding of levees by the President and Mrs. Washington and various other practices of the new Government were assailed as being unrepublican; and, to many, nothing seemed more like an attempt to imitate English and monarchical customs than the personal Speech of the President and the replies by the Congress.

As early as September, 1790, an amusing example of the extravagant fears of growing aristocracy is to be found in a letter to a Boston paper referring to "the unfortunate opinions which appear to be working their way into this country that there ought to be a style imitative of the parade, ostentation and etiquette of foreign Courts.[2]

[1] *American Daily Advertiser,* Dec. 4, 7, 13, 1793.

[2] Letter from the Political Scrutator "Rusticus," *Independent Chronicle,* Sept. 9, 1790.

The people it seems are to be dazzled with this ridiculous formality — with the farcical insignificance of set levees, with reserve and distance in our federal officers. False greatness is preferred to real magnanimity. The natural civility of the American character is to be corrupted by a feeble display of these new-fangled customs. The refinements of a monarchy are to be substituted in the room of republican simplicity. New and unusual titles are contended for in one branch of the Legislature, and, I am afraid, but faintly opposed in the other. . . . Congress . . . in one minute aping the ceremonies, and in another the fashionable indecencies of the British Parliament, always booted and spurred as if for a horse race — lounging in their seats or reading the gazettes . . . meeting at eleven and often adjourning at two.[1]

In November, 1792, a Philadelphia Anti-Federalist paper published the following:[2]

It is extremely probable that, had the first session of Congress, under the new Constitution been held in this city, instead of New York, we should at this time exhibit more republicanism in our public formalities. Indeed, since this city has become the seat of Federal Government, a step or two towards that desirable simplicity has been accomplished. In a government like ours, the people are not to be imposed upon by ceremonious forms or outward show, and our endeavors to imitate the fopperies of European Courts commonly draw on us the ridicule of the reflecting.

About the same time, another Anti-Federalist paper in Philadelphia published a letter setting forth categorically what it termed the "Fore-runners of Monarchy and Aristocracy" in the new Government, as follows:[3]

[1] "A few of the members persisted in wearing, while in their seats and during the debate, their ample cocked hats, placed fore and aft upon their heads, with here and there a leg thrown across the little desks before them," quoted from a contemporary writer in Pennypacker, *Congress Hall* (1895), 11.

[2] *Gazette of the United States,* Nov. 10, 1792, quoting *General Advertiser.*

[3] Letter of "Mirabeau," *National Gazette,* Dec. 12, 1792. See also letter of "Cornelia," *ib.,* Dec. 26, 1792, attacking the "drawing-room," and letter of "Condorcet," *ib.,* Dec. 15, 1792, saying: "The Vice President never appears but in the full blaze of office, as if every place he went to was a circle and every circle which he invited needed a Vice President." See also letter of "Diogenes," *ib.,* Dec. 26, 1792, complaining of the use of the terms, "His Excellency the President," "The Honorable Member," etc., and saying: "The diabolical terms, whether in humble imitation of royalty or the totter-

(1) The titles of Excellency, Honorable and Esquire;
(2) Levees;
(3) Keeping the birthdays of the servants of the public;
(4) Establishing a ceremonial distance between the officers of the government and the people;
(5) Parades of every kind in the officers of government, such as pompous carriages, splendid feasts and tawdry gowns;
(6) Looking up to heads of departments and praising or blaming them for the good or evil things which flow from the government;
(7) High salaries to the officers of government;
(8) Profligacy in the officers of Government, whether it manifests itself in swearing, drunkenness, debauchery or want of justice in the payment of debts;
(9) An irredeemable debt.

An article on "Monarchical Pomp," in a Boston Anti-Federalist paper in 1794, attacked specifically the practice of Speech and Address as follows:[1]

When the President met Congress for the first time, though they had no throne for him to be seated on, yet they affected to receive him with all the formality of courtly parade. And when the members of both Houses were to return an answer to

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ing remains of a dying aristocracy, are surely repugnant to the divine principles of a republican government. . . . Let us endeavor to exterminate every vestige of titles as being the remaining seeds of that cursed distinction, that poisonous aristocracy, from whence we derived our origin — the social and soul-warming term, citizen."

[1] *Independent Chronicle,* Sept. 1, 1794. The article continued as follows:

"To render this monarchical etiquette the more pompous and to familiarize it to the citizens, a courtly gazette was instituted which industriously proclaimed the ideal grandeur of the Court and published the names and rank of all the *most honourable* personages, both male and female, who graced it with their presence.

"It was customary with the President, when he was Commander in Chief of the Army, to set a particular hour apart for receiving visits from officers, as well as others. This method, he, no doubt, thought necessary to prevent too frequent interruptions; and this neither gave offence nor occasioned any public remarks. When he came to the presidential chair, as the same causes existed, he introduced the same custom, and it probably never would have been so generally known, nor have offended even the most scrupulous republican — if the monarchical Order had not metamorphosed it into a courtly levee, and if the courtly gazette, faithful to its trust, had not proclaimed it to the world in the pompous stile of St. James's or Versailles. . . .

"It is with regret that I mention the Vice President of the United States as a patron and active promoter of those monarchical habits."

the President's speech, they agreed to go in a body. But to walk the street on so pompous an occasion would by no means have comported with the dignity and splendor of the intended parade — therefore, all the coach-houses in New York were ransacked for carriages for them to ride in.

When the second session of the Third Congress convened, November 3, 1794, the reign of peace in Washington's Administration had disappeared. During the past year, the country had been violently split into pro-French and pro-English factions; Genet's mission and activities had aroused the hottest of political feelings, the rise and spread of the Jacobin Societies, Constitutional Societies and similar bodies in the United States had given birth to grave apprehension among the more conservative Federalist portion of the community. Washington's Neutrality Proclamation and subsequent enforcement of neutrality, and his suppression of the Whiskey Insurrection had aroused considerable political antagonism to him. When, therefore, in his Speech to Congress (delivered for the first time in the Chamber of the House instead of the Senate) on November 19, 1793,[1] Washington referred in somewhat bitter terms to the Jacobin Clubs, as "certain self-created societies," opposition to his words and to his policies at once broke out in the Senate, on the question of the adoption of the Address (drafted by King, Ellsworth and Izard).[2] Aaron Burr, aided by James Jackson of Georgia, moved to strike out that portion of the draft which re-echoed the President's sentiments as follows:

Our anxiety arising from the licentious and open resistance to the laws in the Western Counties of Pennsylvania has been increased by the proceedings of certain self-created societies, relative to the laws and administration of the Government proceedings, in our apprehension, founded in political error, calculated, if not intended, to disorganize our Government, and

[1] The date for the opening of this Session was Nov. 3, 1794, but no quorum appeared until Aaron Burr took his seat in the Senate, Nov. 18, 1794.

[2] The Anti-Federalists throughout the country resented Washington's words; see letters as to "self-created societies" in *Independent Chronicle*, Dec. 8, 15, 1794; Jan. 25, 1796.

which, by inspiring delusive hopes of support, have been influential in misleading our fellow citizens in the scene of insurrection.

The motion was lost, after much heated talk; and the Address was presented to the President, November 22.[1]

In the House, however, the fight against the President was much more determined; and the debate lasted for six days, principally over the President's obnoxious words "self-created societies."[2] William B. Giles of Virginia, said that "the tone of that passage in the Speech had made a great deal of noise without doors, and it was likely to produce considerable agitation within doors." A "labyrinth of amendments" were proposed to the draft of the Address (prepared by Madison, Theodore Sedgwick of Massachusetts, and Thomas Scott of Pennsylvania). There were also severe attacks on the President by John Nicholas of Virginia, Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey and William B. Giles of Virginia, for sending Chief Justice Jay to England under secret instructions; and Nicholas stated that "the House should not bow so much to the Executive as to approve of his proceedings without knowing what they are." Madison concurred in this. William Vans Murray, Fisher Ames, James Hillhouse and Uriah Tracy of Connecticut defended the President."[3] A motion to recommit the Address, however, was lost by the close vote of 48 to 42, and it was finally presented to the President on November 29, ten days after his Speech to Congress.

Thus, for the first time, the practice of making an Address had given rise to bitter political dissension in the House. "Must the President's speech be really re-echoed?" said a writer in an Anti-Federalist paper, a few months later. "Is this really a law? Is it a Congressional precedent? . . . The Nation will soon be as abject, as grovelling as the meanest oriental slave. Have we any certainty that future Presidents 'can do no wrong'? None. Future and perhaps rapacious Presidents may be the dark and despotic Caesars of America. . . . Is it the duty of Congress, are

[1] *Annals of Congress*, Nov. 20, 22, 1794.

[2] *American Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, Dec. 1, 5, 1794.

[3] The *Annals of Congress*, Nov. 24, 1794, states that Tracy "pronounced an elegant panegyric on the character and conduct of the President."

they in conscience bound, to endanger the political system by paying compliments?"[1]

The desirability of discontinuing the practice was urged, just before the next Congress met, in an extraordinary letter which appeared in the *Aurora,* in December, 1795, addressed to the Members of Congress, a letter which shows accurately the feelings of the Anti-Federalist faction:[2]

> The United States have travelled with inconceivable velocity towards practical monarchy. . . . Republicanism in its cradle was decorated with the gewgaws of a debauched government. The frippery of a Court was seen to usher our administration into notice, and all the paraphernalia of monarchy, excepting a crown, bedizened the chief magistrate of a free people. Your predecessors, with what views I will leave to you to suggest, either encouraged or sanctioned this departure from the genuine principles of liberty. The President was treated by them with more submission than is shown to the monarch of Great Britain — royal etiquette was calculated to a fraction; and with unaccounted servility, the representatives of a free people proceeded in a body, preceded by their sergeants at arms and their Speaker, to let an Executive officer know, that they had heard his Speech and that they would give it their attention! This solemn farce, this mockery of republicanism, this satire upon freedom has been recited for near eight years, and hitherto no voice has been raised against it. Shall this mummery be continued? . . . Reverence yourselves, and scorn to tread in the monarchical and sycophantic footsteps of your predecessors. . . . Is an Executive magistrate in a Republic paramount to the law givers thereof? Is he of more consideration than the legislative body? Does he monopolize in his own person all that is great, powerful, influential and authoritative, that the representative body homage him as a venal British Parliament homage their king? This practice so abject, so degrading to the representatives of free men, was borrowed from the corrupt monarchy of Great Britain.

To the first session of the Fourth Congress, the President delivered his Speech, December 8, 1795, in the Chamber of the House. Since the last session, the Jay Treaty had been ratified and the country had been divided on most passionate

[1] "Arbiter No. 11," in *Independent Chronicle,* April 30, 1795.

[2] Letter of "Codrus" in the *Aurora,* quoted in *Boston Gazette,* Dec. 28, 1795.

lines of opposition. The Speech, dealing principally with foreign affairs, was received with marked disapprobation by the anti-British faction in Congress; and for the first time Washington saw signs of personal hostility in his legislative auditors. The scene was graphically described by William Cobbett at the time as follows:[1]

When the President arrived at the House this day, he found it in that state of composed gravity, of respectful silence, for which the Congress is so remarkable, and which, whatever witlings may say, is the surest mark of sound understanding. The gallery was crowded with anxious spectators, whose orderly behaviour was not the least pleasing part of the scene. The President is a timid speaker; he is a proof, among thousands, that superior genius, wisdom, and courage, are ever accompanied with excessive modesty.

His situation was at this time almost entirely new. Never, till a few months preceding this session, had the tongue of the most factious slander dared to make a public attack on his character. This was the first time he had ever entered the walls of Congress, without a full assurance of meeting a welcome from every heart. He now saw, even among those to whom he addressed himself, numbers who, to repay all his labors, his anxious cares for their welfare, were ready to thwart his measures, and present him the cup of humiliation filled to the brim.

A long and hot debate ensued in the Senate — the first debate which was publicly reported; for hitherto, the Senate, contrary to the sentiment of the people, had sat behind closed doors.[2] An unsuccessful attempt was made to strike

[1] *Prospect from the Congress Gallery During the Session beginning December 7, 1795* (1796), by Peter Porcupine [William Cobbett]. A Philadelphia letter in *Columbian Centinel,* Dec. 19, 1795, said: I was present at the delivery of the President's Speech and think I never witnessed a more august and heart-effecting scene. I hope the answers will equal the Speech in composition as well as moderation and patriotism."

[2] The secrecy of debate in the Senate had long been the object of criticism. Washington wrote to David Stuart, July 26, 1789: "Why they (the Senate) keep their doors shut when acting in a legislative capacity, I am unable to inform you, unless it is because they think there is too much speaking to the gallery in the other House, and business is thereby retarded." *Writings of Washington* (Sparks' Ed.), x. 21.

Alexander White, a Member of Congress from Virginia, wrote to Madison, Aug. 25, 1789: "The pleasure which our open doors and the knowledge of our debates obtained by that means, has given to the people, can hardly be

out from its Address (drafted by King, Ellsworth, and Cabot) all commendation of Washington's foreign policy, but the Address was carried by a vote of 14 to 8, and presented on December 12.[1] In this Senate debate, however, there appeared, for the first time, legislative disapproval of the practice of making an Address to the President.[2] Stevens Thomson Mason, of Virginia, objected to the Senate's stating to the President that "our situation was in every way auspicious." King replied that one of the principal

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conceived. The different conduct of the Senate must of course have a contrary effect." Madison Papers, MS. in Library of Congress.

General Pinckney, Senator from South Carolina, on the other hand, said that "the State where the Federal Government is now exercised has sufficient influence already, and those who read the debates in the House of Representatives, may perceive that many of the speeches are calculated to please the gallery. I wish their doors were shut as well as those of the Senate." *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), March 2, 1791.

See *Providence Gazette,* Feb. 5, March 12, 1791, as to resolutions in the Legislatures of North Carolina, Massachusetts and Virginia directed against secrecy in the Senate.

A letter from "Diogenes" in *National Gazette,* Dec. 26, 1792, referred "to that part of the National Legislature to which I sometimes have access (for the masters, the people, are excluded from overseeing their servants in the Senate)." See also letter to *General Advertiser,* quoted in *National Gazette,* Nov. 21, 1792, as to closing of Senate doors. See also *Norwich Packet* (Conn.), Nov. 29, 1792, quoting *Independent Gazetteer* (Phil.).

The *Independent Chronicle,* Nov. 26, 1795, quoting *Aurora* said: "The debates in the approaching session of Congress will be more interesting than any other that have occurred since the framing of the new Constitution. A gallery is erecting in the Senate Chamber that the curiosity of the public may as far as possible be gratified. Those who expect much entertainment from that quarter will be disappointed, because the Senate does not transact one fortieth part of the business that the other House goes through."

Columbian Centinel, Dec. 5, 1795; letter from Phil. Nov. 28: "A gallery is building over the Senate Chamber and we expect the debates of that venerable body will be more than a counterbalance for the fulminations we expect from the House."

Independent Chronicle, Dec. 7, 1795: "The *Centinel* says, by the help of his Philadelphia Correspondent, that the public may expect an antidote in the debates in the Senate to the Jacobin 'fulminations of the House,' but he ought to have told his readers that a gallery never would have been provided for the People in the Senate had it not been for the persevering exertions of the minority of the Senate against the Treaty, and among them is the Hon. Mr. Langdon."

[1] *Annals of Congress,* Dec. 10, 11, 1795. An amusing comment appears on p. 22: "On a further attempt to amend one of the clauses, some conversation took place, more remarkable for ingenuity than interesting for solidity, being chiefly a debate upon words."

[2] See *American Daily Advertiser,* Dec. 14, 15, 1795.

features of the Address "was to keep up that harmony of intercourse which ought to subsist between the Legislature and the President, and to express confidence in the undiminished firmness and love of country which always characterizes our Chief Executive Magistrate." Pierce Butler of South Carolina, said that he "did not approve of long and detailed Answers, had hoped that nothing would have been brought forward on the subject which agitated the June Executive Session, calculated to wound the feelings of members. He had been disappointed. He objected to the word 'firm' as applied to the President. If it is that firmness in opposing the will of the people which is intended to be extolled, the vote shall never leave the walls of this Senate with my approbation." Henry Tazewell of Virginia, asked:

> What had given rise to this practice of returning an Answer of any kind? There was nothing in the Constitution or in any of the fundamental rules of the Federal Government which required that ceremony from either branch of Congress. The practice was but an imitation of the ceremonies used upon like occasions in other countries, and was neither required by the Constitution nor authorized by the principles upon which our Government was erected. But having obtained, he did not intend to disturb it. To allow the utmost latitude to the principle which had begotten the practice, he would only tolerate the ceremony, as a compliment to the Chief Magistrate. It could not be permitted to arrest all opinions, previous to regular discussion, nor to operate as a means of pledging members to the pursuit of a particular course which subsequent and more full inquiries might show to be extremely improper. Every Answer, therefore, to the President's communication ought to be drawn in terms extremely general, neither seducing the President into a belief that this House would pursue a general recommendation into points not at first contemplated by them, nor pledging themselves.

Similar opposition to an Address arose in the House, also for the first time, when Josiah Parker of Virginia, moved that, instead of presentation by the whole House, a Committee of the House be appointed to wait on the President and "assure him that the House would take into their

deliberation the subjects recommended to their attention and give them that consideration which their importance should demand." He said that while he "had the highest respect for the President, he had always disapproved of the practice of making out Addresses in answer to these Speeches and of the House leaving their business to go in a body to present them. Last session, the framing of this Address had cost very long debates and produced very great irritation. Some of the most disagreeable things that happened during the session occurred in these debates." [1] Murray of Maryland retorted to Parker that he thought the old practice should be adhered to. "It was coeval with the Constitution. It was consistent with good sense. It was true that the House might send a verbal Answer, and it was likewise true that the President might have sent them his Speech by his Secretary, without coming near them at all. He had, however, come to Congress and Mr. M. [Murray] could perceive no impropriety in Congress returning the compliment by waiting on him." [2]

Parker's motion was lost, though 18 men voted for it. When the Address (drafted by Madison, Sedgwick and Samuel Sitgreaves of Pennsylvania) was reported to the House, however, there arose a three days' debate which developed into an unpleasant personal attack on President Washington.

Although the draft omitted all reference to the Jay Treaty

[1] Parker's speech is thus reported in *Annals of Congress,* Dec. 9, 1795. It is interesting to note that the reports of debates in Congress at this time, as given in the newspapers, frequently differ somewhat from that in the *Annals.* Thus, Parker's speech was reported in *American Daily Advertiser,* Dec. 11, 1795, as follows: "He disapproved of the practice which hitherto had prevailed of the House neglecting their business to wait in a body on the President; it was better to dispense with such useless formality and attend to their important duties. Last session, he observed great animosities were excited in the House on the subject of the Address; the mode he proposed would avoid such an occurrence at the present occasion."

[2] *Annals of Congress,* Dec. 9, 1795. As reported in *American Daily Advertiser,* Dec. 11, 1795, Murray said: "If the President had chosen to innovate, he might have written his speech and sent it to the House by his Secretary. The Constitution does not bind him to appear in person; but he deems it respectful to attend himself. This deserved in return an equally respectful procedure on the part of the House, by waiting on him in a body. He did not feel this a degradation; nor did he see that the practice interfered materially with the public business. The House spent no more than half an hour in their call on the President."

and foreign affairs in order to avoid unnecessary conflict, yet it contained the following passage:

> Contemplating that probably unequalled spectacle of national happiness which our country exhibits . . . permit us to add the benefits which are derived from your presiding in our councils, resulting as well from the undiminished confidence of your fellow citizens as from your zealous and successful labors in their service.

This statement appeared to the opponents of the Jay Treaty as far too extreme; and Parker of Virginia at once, on December 15, 1795, moved to strike out the words "probably unequalled," and also all words from "councils" to the end. He admitted that "the United States owed much to the President for his services on most occasions; but he had sometime erred as other men. He [Parker] could not, for his own part, subscribe to the expressions contained in the words which he had moved to strike out; his confidence in the President *was* diminished, in consequence of a late transaction."

On the motion being put, the words "probably unequalled" were struck out by a vote of 43 to 39. Then the debate raged over the words "undiminished confidence," which it was proposed should be eliminated. Murray of Maryland, said his confidence in the President was undiminished; but Giles of Virginia, said the assertion in the Address did not "correspond with the fact" and he wished it struck out. Nathaniel Freeman of Massachusetts said that while he thought he might say that his own confidence in the President was "undiminished," "he could not utter the same sentiment in behalf of the people at large" (though the disaffection was of a very small part of the people, in his view).

Robert G. Harper of South Carolina agreed, but said that he was willing to vote that the confidence of the House was undiminished. Sedgwick of Massachusetts warmly supported the President and the popular confidence in him, and said that the Jay Treaty "was less the object of the dislike of some, than affording the opportunity for the vent of passions and feelings deep-rooted before." He said that the

licentious presses "which had lately teemed with infamous and scandalous abuse of the President" were unrepresentative. Livingston of New York, said that, if necessary, he would strike out the word "undiminished," as he did not conceive that the House was called on to express an opinion as to the feeling of the country; but since striking out the word would be "tantamount to declaration that the confidence reposed in the President *was* diminished," he urged that the Address be recommitted. This was done. And when Madison reported it back on December 16, all reference to "undiminished confidence" in the President had disappeared; and the clause read: "Permit us to acknowledge and declare the very great share which your zealous and faithful services have contributed to it, and to express the affectionate attachment which we feel for your character."

The Address, so amended, was presented to the President, on December 17, 1795. While the President's reply contained no recognition of the personal reflections on him, in the debate, it occasioned him much chagrin.

The sentiments of the opponents of the President's treaty policy, were expressed in the following letter from New York:[1]

> The answer to the President by the House of Representatives must be greatly offensive to your treaty sticklers; tho the utmost mildness is shown as respects the conduct of the Executive, yet their total silence on the treaty is an evidence that it is not approved of by the House. The debate on striking out the words "*undiminished confidence*" will be considered as a prominent feature of the sentiments of the Representatives of the People; and when the treaty is discussed in the House (which you may depend will be) we shall find that the *Constitution,* rather than the *infallibility* of men, will be the touchstone to try its merits. The old womanish whining and snivling of Sedgwick is become proverbial; he is laughed at, even by his friends.

The President's Speech to the second session of the Fourth Congress, made in the House Chamber, December 7, 1796, was his last Speech before retirement from office. Accord-

[1] *Independent Chronicle,* Dec. 28, 1795; see *ib.*, Jan. 21, 1796, referring to Washington as "the weak man, wavering in his determination."

ingly, it was felt that especially complimentary Addresses should be made to him. The Senate acted without delay, adopting the draft of its Committee (Jacob Read of South Carolina, Uriah Tracy of Connecticut, and William Bingham of Pennsylvania) on December 10, and presenting the Address on December 12.

But in the House, when its Committee (consisting of Fisher Ames of Massachusetts, Abraham Baldwin of Georgia, Samuel Sitgreaves of Pennsylvania, William Smith of South Carolina, and Madison), on December 12, reported a decidedly adulatory address, a two days' debate ensued, due to a violent attack by William B. Giles of Virginia, who objected to the adjectives applied to the President. He said that though he did not object to a respectful and complimentary Address, yet he thought they ought not "to carry our expressions beyond the bounds of moderation"; he hoped they should "adhere to the truth. . . . As to those parts of the Address which speak of the wisdom and firmness of the President, he believed the Administration had been neither wise nor firm for the last six years. It was a want of wisdom and firmness that had brought the country and its foreign relations into such an alarming and critical situation. . . . If we take a view into our internal situation and behold the ruined state of public and private credit, . . . if we survey this city and the shameful scene it alone exhibits, owing to the immense quantity of paper issued, surely this could afford no ground for admiration of the Administration that caused it."[1] He thought the Government of the United

[1] *Independent Chronicle,* Dec. 26, 1796: "Contrast the boasted prosperity, blasphemy in contempt of truth so loudly and daringly vociferated by the Executive of the United States and reverberated by Congress . . . with existing truths glaring as a summer's sun, with the loudly crying facts. Our commerce and navigation prostrate at the feet of British despotism. Our seamen in chains . . . our merchants robbed of their merchandise crushing in ruin every seaport town in the Union. . . . Is this the prosperity of which Americans should exultingly boast? God forbid. And this apparent prosperity is impudently ascribed too to the 6 years glorious Washington's administration."

Columbian Centinel, Dec. 24, 1796: "It is worthy of remark, says a correspondent, that the British papers at no period of the Revolution, ever teemed with more sheer abuse of the Administration of the Government of the United States than the jacobin papers do at this very moment. . . . What must the world think of a Government which is thus traduced by its citizens?"

States could go on very well without the President — and that there were thousands of citizens who could fill the office. He had no objection to members complimenting the President privately, but he "hoped such adulation would never pervade that House."

Harper, Sitgreaves, Smith, Ames, Livingston, Nicholas, and Robert Rutherford of Virginia warmly defended the Administration; and the Address was finally adopted by a vote of 67 to 12, and presented December 16. A Philadelphia correspondent wrote, however, that the Answer was "carried principally from a disposition to prevent any unreasonable delay, on this mere complimentary business. It was found that the sticklers for adulation meant to force the Answer by contending the principles in elaborate speeches and then lay the blame of expending so much time and money on so trifling a transaction on those who were opposed to it. Words are but sounds, and at this period a few more feathers in the Cap of the Executive will only serve, when the consequences of his Administration are more severely felt, to render the pageantry more pointed against the supporter of the treaty and other British measures. In my opinion, it is but to little purpose how we *wind up* the present Administration, whether by flattery or censure, as a new epoch commences in our political calendar, on the controversy between France and America."[1]

The election of John Adams to the Presidency aroused much apprehension amongst some Anti-Federalists lest there should be an increase in monarchical forms, and gave an impetus to the movement for abolition of the Speech and of the reply Addresses. "The man who has advocated titles ought to be carefully watched, lest under this enchanting lure, the poison of monarchy and aristocracy may be insensibly instilled."[2] During the Presidential campaign in Virginia, reports had been assiduously circulated that Adams was born in England, "that he has been a Member of the British Parliament six years; that he never rode in a coach

[1] *Independent Chronicle,* Dec. 26, 1796.

[2] *Independent Chronicle,* Oct. 17, 1796. The *Aurora,* of Dec. 14, 1801, referred to Adams as "gratifying his vanity with 'pomp and feast and revelry, antique masques and pageantry.'"

unless drawn by six horses and never walked on foot without a body guard; that he suffered no man to visit him and lived in all the luxury of Eastern magnificence at his palace in the vicinity of Boston." [1] His inauguration ceremonies apparently relieved some fears; for a Boston Anti-Federalist paper said that it was "much to the honor of the President of the United States that he would not permit the Marshal and other officers to walk in procession before his carriage on the day of his inauguration. In this, he had discovered himself to be a practicable republican; for what can be more monarchical and more degrading to our fellow men than to see them parading the streets before a set of horses harnessed to a carriage containing a man like themselves. True dignity consists in character, and not in ostentation, and it is a circumstance very conspicuous to our country that this is the kind of dignity the President means to display." [2]

The President's Speech was delivered by Adams to the first (special) session of the Fifth Congress on May 16, in the House Chamber.[3] As it was decidedly hostile to France, it naturally encountered Anti-Federalist opposition and criticism; it was termed a "war-speech," and the *Aurora* said: "From the temper which a great man showed in his Speech on Tuesday to a great assembly, we are unavoidably led to believe that his men Timothy (Pickering) and Oliver (Wolcott) have fed him upon pepperpot, these three weeks past, in order to bring his nerves to a proper anti-gallican tone. The effects which aromatics or high seasoned goods produce upon a cold Northern constitution every quack can tell." [4]

The Senate disposed of its Address in short order. A motion, made to expunge from the draft (prepared by Uriah Tracy of Connecticut, John Laurance of New York, Samuel

[1] *Columbian Centinel,* Dec. 14, 1796.

[2] *Independent Chronicle,* May 8, 1797.

[3] The ceremony is described in *Annals of Congress,* 5th Cong., 1st Sess., as follows: "A little after twelve the President of the United States entered and took the Chair of the Speaker (which he vacated on the entrance of the Senate, the President and Clerk of the Senate being placed on the right hand of the Chair, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Clerk on the left). After sitting a moment he rose and delivered the following Speech."

[4] *Aurora,* May 18, 1797.

Livermore of New Hampshire, John Henry of Maryland and Henry Tazewell of Virginia) the following clause:

> We are happy, since our sentiments on the subject are in perfect unison with yours, in this public manner to declare that the conduct of the government has been just and impartial to foreign nations, and that those internal regulations which have been established for the preservation of peace are in their nature proper, and have been fairly executed.

was lost by a vote of 11 to 15; and the Address was presented, May 24. The Anti-Federalist papers said that, as might have been expected, it was "all a faithful echo to the Speech; . . . Indeed it breathes a spirit of hostility to France even more unequivocal than the Speech."[1]

In the House, the Address (drafted by Abraham B. Venable of Virginia, John W. Kittera of Pennsylvania, John Rutledge of South Carolina, Roger Griswold of Pennsylvania and Nathaniel Freeman of Massachusetts), was debated for ten days, May 23 to June 3; and as was said, a person entering the Chamber might have supposed that Congress was acting upon a declaration of war on France.[2] Moreover, a serious discussion arose over the practice of making an Address at all. Abraham Baldwin of Georgia said that he was opposed to the custom, "a mere piece of public ceremony." He trusted "some fit occasion would, before long, be found to disencumber themselves of a ceremony, new in this country, which tended only to evil and increasing embarrassments. He thought the Address contained too many epithets and superlatives. It was a style of writing which will become youth and passion in some circumstances, more rarely the experience and gravity of advanced life, and very seldom reconcilable to the dignity of a public assembly." John Swanwick of Pennsylvania lamented the loss of time in these Addresses, and favored their abolition. Giles of Virginia, said he had been opposed to the practice from its outset: "It was derived from the British House of Commons

[1] *Independent Chronicle,* May 25, 1797; *Aurora,* May 19, 1797.

[2] *Annals of Congress,* 5th Cong., 1st Sess. May–June; see also more full accounts of some of the Speeches in *Aurora,* May 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, June 1, 5, 1797.

which was a bad source for precedents. In that House, however, the Speech and the Answer were both known to be the work of the Minister and treated with great freedom. It would be better to direct the Committee of Rules and Orders of the House to make one standing answer which would serve regularly for all Speeches."

After the Address was adopted, a new member of Congress from Vermont, Col. Matthew Lyon, an excitable Irishman (who within the next two years, was destined to become known through the country for his assault on Griswold in the House and his conviction under the Sedition Law), made the most effective attack on the practice which had yet been made. The House had fallen, he said, "into a very silly custom of leaving its business, to attend to so absurd and unnecessary form of waiting on the President *en masse*. It was also absurd to send to know when he should be ready to receive this Address; the Address ought to be sent at once, for he would not pay the President so bad a compliment as to suppose he was not always ready to receive communications, in fact it was his duty." He said that he hoped "our magnanimous President joins with the enlightened yeomanry of America in despising this boyish piece of business," and that he would be "pleased to be decently rid of this disgusting piece of mummery . . . a custom degrading to the representatives of an enlightened people." He thought it was "a good time to retrench on it, at the threshold of a new Administration. The Presidency is in the hands of a gentleman revered and beloved by every good citizen; he is yet disencumbered from vain panegyricks and fulsome adulation; he has spent a great share of his life among a people whose love for mediocrity forbids the most exalted character to expect a forced or mock homage from any."[1] He wound up in a rather wild burst of language about his own descent, lack of blood and ancestors; and finally made a motion that "such members as did not choose to attend upon the President to present the answer should

[1] The *Annals of Congress,* June 3, 1797, reports this as "unused to vain adulation," "a people, whose love of a plainness of manners forbids all pageantry." The *Aurora,* June 6, 1797 (quoted in the text), gives a better report of the speech.

be excused by the House." There seemed to be little opposition to this motion; and after Harrison Gray Otis of Massachusetts, had made the insulting retort that "as the gentleman appeared to be insane he would recommend him to be locked up while the House proceeded to the President," for which remark Otis "was loudly called to order from several parts of the House," Lyon's motion was unanimously carried.[1] The House then, without Lyon's attendance, on June 3, went and presented the Address. Lyon wrote to his constituents that: "After spending the first week in tiresome ceremony, the second and third have been taken up with the answer to the President's Speech which is not yet got through, 'tis a ceremony I sincerely wish had not been thought of, it is reprobated by almost the whole House, but from some unaccountable infatuation they think it cannot, at this time, be dispensed with." [2]

The President's Speech to the second session of the Fifth Congress was delivered in the House Chamber, November 23, 1797.[3] "It has been frequently asserted in many circles," said the *Aurora*, "that Mr. Adams is in his dotage, and were we to judge from some specimens of imbecility in his last Speech this opinion would be confirmed." [4]

The Senate Address (drafted by Richard Stockton of New Jersey, John Laurance of New York and Samuel Livermore of New Hampshire) was adopted without debate, November 27, and presented the next day.

In the House, on November 24, on the resolution to prepare an Address, Matthew Lyon moved that, instead, a committee be appointed to wait on the President "and in the name of the House respectfully to assure him of its ready

[1] As an illustration of the untrustworthy incompleteness of the *Annals of Congress*, it may be noted that this speech of Otis does not appear in it at all, but is printed in the report of debates in *Independent Chronicle*, July 13, 1797.

[2] *Independent Chronicle*, July 13, 1797.

[3] The date for the session was Nov. 13, 1797, but no quorum appeared until Nov. 22. The ceremony was thus described in the *Annals of Congress:* "At about quarter past twelve the President of the United States (after visiting the Senate Chamber) entered the House, accompanied by his Secretary and the Heads of Departments, and, being seated, rose and delivered the following Address."

[4] *Aurora*, Nov. 28, 1797.

coöperation with the other Departments of Government in all such measures as may be deemed advisable for the public good, and to promote the peace, happiness and welfare of the United States." He said that he wanted to get rid of a ten or fourteen days' debate about the wording of an answer, and "the troublesome and greatly derided practice of turning out the whole House to drag its length along in carrying answers to the President." [1]

As to the propriety of answering in the manner now contemplated and long practiced, he had sought for the reason of its institution, he had read much on this subject in those works in which they were to be found, whether newspapers, registers or debates; he had conversed with gentlemen both in and out of the House, in hopes of hearing some satisfactory reason assigned for it; but he had been disappointed in every direction. He wished the patrons of the measure would be so kind as to suggest something even plausible on this head.

Harper of South Carolina replied in a long speech, saying that the Address was not troublesome unless members made it so by objections; and as to its being a derided ceremony, "he knew gentlemen who caused themselves to be objects of derision by their attempts to deride it, and whether those attempts had rebounded to their own honor or made them ridiculous, he left everyone to decide." [2]

Venable of Virginia supported Lyon, saying that the practice had occasioned considerable embarrassment, and had been found to be attended with real inconvenience, and an unnecessary waste of public time and delay of public business. The House, however, voted for an Address, 57 to 20,

[1] *Aurora,* Nov. 27, 1797. The report in the *Annals of Congress* (taken from the *American Daily Advertiser* report), is less full and less picturesque — "derided custom of turning out *en masse* to wait upon the President."

[2] *Aurora,* Dec. 4, 1797, quoting *New York Time Piece,* published a jesting poem on Harper in which it said:

> "Though sorry we are at Old England to carp,
> They have sent us a thing called a President's harp."

The *Independent Chronicle,* June 19, 1797, published a long attack on Harper, as "a troublesome member who seems to imagine himself sent to Congress to make long speeches, to maintain a war of windy words . . . to the great waste of public time and treasure . . . contemptible declamations and personal invectives."

which (drafted by Harrison Gray Otis of Massachusetts, John Dawson of Virginia, John Rutledge of South Carolina, James A. Bayard of Delaware, and Abraham Baldwin of Georgia) was debated on November 27 and 28. After its adoption, Lyon asked for a resolution similar to that at the last session excusing members from attendance on the President. He said that while he would not "debar gentlemen of that gratification which they felt when indulged with pageantry and parade, he hoped they would permit him the gratification of being absent from a ceremony which did not comport with his idea of the dignity of the representatives of the people."[1] After a short debate, in which Gallatin argued that the House had no power to compel any member to attend, he withdrew his motion. The presentation of the Address, on November 29, at the President's house was accompanied by a new feature, the serving of refreshments, reported in the paper as follows: "The Address being presented, the answer received, and having eaten cakes and drank wine with the Chief Magistrate, the Speaker and Members returned to the House, and order being obtained, the Speaker as usual read the answer of the President, from the Chair."[2] This hospitable innovation gave rise to an amusing comment in the *Aurora*: "Some of the Members of Congress, boasting of their good cheer, observed to Mr. Lyon that he had better have gone with them to the President's, and eat of his cake and drank of his Madeira. Mr. Lyon replied they might thank him, he believed, for the cake and wine; as, it not having been customary heretofore, it might be considered as baiting the members in future — but he could assure them that he thought that was not the way to catch Lyons."

The answer of the Federalist House did not please some of the Federalist papers, who considered it too weak, and Peter Porcupine [William Cobbett] remarked:[3]

> Contrary to custom, the answer to the President's speech took up but little time in the House and the reason was this: there is

[1] *Aurora,* Dec. 2, 1797, less fully reported in *Annals of Congress.*

[2] *American Daily Advertiser,* Nov. 30, 1797; *Aurora,* Dec. 5, 1797; *Independent Chronicle,* Dec. 14, 1797.

[3] Quoted in *Independent Chronicle,* Dec. 11, 1797.

nothing said about France, which the partizans of that horrid nation could possibly disapprove of. The paragraphs relating to France are not only tame and timid but even ridiculous . . . perfect nonsense, a sort of dog logic that descends beneath all human comprehension.

A New York paper took occasion to again attack the whole custom, as follows:[1]

Every one knows that the custom of re-echoing the President's speech is an absurd affectation of the British Parliament, whose modes of legislative procedure have been almost exactly copied by the government of the United States. That a degree of formality may be necessary in such matters no one will doubt; but a servile copy of all their little forms must be ridiculous, at least in a republican country. . . . The world has been long deceived with what is called the good old way, both in church and State, and it is high time the doctrine of unqualified precedent should be laid aside.

The President's Speech to the third session of the Fifth Congress was delivered in the House Chamber, December 5, 1798, with considerable attendant ceremony; for it was felt that the country was on the verge of war with France, and Washington had been called to the command of the army. The scene was thus described in the papers:[2]

At twelve o'clock, Lieutenant General Washington, with his Secretary Col. Lear, Major Generals Pinckney and Hamilton, entered the Hall and took their places on the right of the Speaker's Chair. The British and Portuguese Ministers and the British and Danish Secretaries had their places assigned them on the left of the Chair.

A few minutes after twelve the President of the United States accompanied by the Secretary and the Heads of the several Departments of the Government appeared. The President having taken his seat, and the officers of government theirs, near the General Officers, he rose and addressed the two Houses as follows: . . . The President having finished his address, after sitting a few moments, presented the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives, each of them, with a copy of it, and

[1] *New York Time Piece,* quoted in *Aurora,* Dec. 2, 1797.
[2] *American Daily Advertiser,* Dec. 10, 1798.

withdrew, and after him the Heads of Departments, Senators, General Officers, Foreign Ministers, etc.

The Speaker then took his Chair and after calling the House to order, proceeded as is usual, to read over the Speech, which being finished it was committed to a Committee of the Whole House and ordered to be printed.

The antagonism excited by the extreme deference paid to Washington by the Federalists was reflected in a letter in a Boston paper:[1]

A letter from Philadelphia, published in J. Russell's paper, tells us that when General Washington entered Congress to hear the communications of the President "both Houses rose as if Deity had descended." He seated himself, having on his right hand his Lieu. General Hamilton, etc. This writer and too many of his stamp are not outdone in profaneness and idolatry by any Frenchman. I love and respect General Washington for being in the hand of Providence an instrument of much good to this People, but do not view him as the Alpha and Omega of America; and that when he speaks, it is done. Neither do I view him as the supporter of Universe, at whose exit from our Globe it will return to original Night and Chaos. Therefore, I will not adore him as though he were God. When Pagan Rome was changed from a Republic by the virtues of one man — after Caesar, though monsters of vice and cruelty were deified, their Heroes did not receive Divine honors until after their decease — but Christian America is corrupt enough to bestow them on their Heroes before their departure.

The Senate Address (drafted by Richard Stockton of New Jersey, Jacob Read of South Carolina, and James Ross of Pennsylvania), was adopted without debate on December 11, and presented the next day. The House Address (drafted by Samuel W. Dana of Connecticut, Abraham B. Venable of Virginia, Robert G. Harper of South Carolina, Hezekiah W. Hosmer of New York and Abraham Baldwin of Georgia), was debated and adopted (though not unanimously) after a few amendments, and presented on December 14.[2]

[1] Letter of "Propriety" in *Independent Chronicle*, Jan. 10, 1799.

[2] See *American Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 15, 1798: "The hour being arrived at which the President had appointed to receive the Address of this

To the first session of the Sixth Congress, the President delivered his Speech in the House Chamber, December 3, 1799. "It is a political curiosity," said the *Aurora,* "it bears all the marks of a guarded, studied, pruned, corrected and chastised production. It is remarkable for only one palpable grammatical error. It is very remarkable in other respects. . . . This speech in point of arrangement is perhaps the most ably put together of any that John Adams ever delivered. In point of composition, it is unequal, and eludes by its insubstantiality the grasp of a vigorous hand. It has all the artifice of feebleness, but its dexterity is exhausted by a close and determined pursuit. . . . This speech presents a source of inexhaustible reflection and will be found under a very flimsy exterior, to contain a deep and solid body of combustible." [1]

The House's Address (drafted by John Marshall of Virginia, John Rutledge of South Carolina, Samuel Sewall of Massachusetts, Edward Livingston of New York and John Nicholas of Virginia), also occasioned but slight debate and was presented on December 10.

The Senate's Address (drafted by Jacob Read of South Carolina, Uriah Tracy of Connecticut and James Ross of Pennsylvania) was adopted December 9, and presented the next day. As it praised the President's action in putting down the Fries Rebellion, regretted that no treaty had been made with Great Britain, and hoped that there would be no relaxation in the measures of defence against France, it was severely attacked by the *Aurora:*[2]

House in answer to his Speech to both Houses, the Speaker announced it, and the House withdrew for the purpose of presenting the Address. . . . In about a quarter of an hour the members returned; when the Speaker, having taken his Chair, proceeded to read the answer to their address, a copy of which had been put into his hand by the President."

[1] *Aurora,* Dec. 4, 1799; see *ib.,* Dec. 6.

[2] *Aurora,* Dec. 12, 1799. See *ib.,* Dec. 14, ridiculing the House Address; "Although little Brown (the Speaker) says, Mr. Sedgwick has 'a very classical articulation,' yet he had a difficulty in making himself understood, when he delivered the Answer of the House of Representatives, to the President. There was so much blundering, and coughing on this occasion that a member well observed 'the Speaker was choaked by the Answer.' Perhaps, if it had been less affectionate and respectful, and (like the Address of the Senate) had not noticed the Mission to France, Mr. Sedgwick would have gotten thro' it without a cough, hem or sigh!"

For the honor of our country, we blush at the composition. Is it possible that the representatives of the sixteen United States could have suffered such a thing to appear before an enlightened tribunal? And shall the author of it remain unknown? This is the Senate which persuaded the President to add two Commissioners to his nomination of Mr. Murray, and yet they say not one word approving his conduct — what they do say, the people of the United States must judge of and blush at.

The President's Speech to the second Session of the Sixth Congress — the last one to be delivered in person until the year 1913 — was made on November 22, 1800, in the Senate Chamber in the new Capitol in Washington (the House Chamber not being finished and the House having temporary quarters in the North wing).[1]

The Senate's Address (drafted by Tracy, Gouverneur Morris of New York, and Abraham Baldwin of Georgia) was adopted November 25, and presented the next day. The House disposed of its Address (drafted by Roger Griswold, Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, William Craik of Maryland, Archibald Henderson of North Carolina and John Nicholas of Virginia) with equal speed and with no amendments, on November 26, and presented it on the next day. The close vote by which it was adopted, 36 to 32, showed however the strength of the opposition; and Nicholas of Virginia, expressed the views of the large minority, in saying that he regretted "the introduction of political matter calculated to produce discord and division. He was averse to the House spending time in propounding political theories; as no good, but much mischief, might flow from such a procedure. Had no other topics or sentiments been alluded to than those contained in the President's Speech there would have been much less division in the House than was to be expected from the insertion of extraneous ideas . . . he thought the style of the address not only unnecessary but worse than useless."

Such was the situation when the political revolution of 1800 brought Jefferson and the Anti-Federalists into power,

[1] The date for the session was Nov. 17, but there was no quorum until Nov. 21.

pledged to what they termed a return to simple, Republican forms of government.

The first session of the Seventh Congress was to convene on December 7, 1801.[1] Several days before that date, it had been reported in the newspapers that President Jefferson intended an innovation, by sending a written message instead of appearing before Congress in person, for it appears that he so informed the Committees of the two Houses which waited on him.[2] "It is curiously reported at Washington," said the *Gazette of the United States*, ". . . that the President will not deliver a Speech as usual at the opening of the Session. It is conjectured that the President feels himself unable to trace the track of his policy, which he has already marked out, and fears that in making the attempt he shall again be caught tripping. It is well for the President if he has friends of sufficient prudence to prevent him from exposing himself."[3] "We are to have no speech, only a simple message," said a New York Federalist paper; and a Salem paper said that it heard there was to be no speech, and that "there are to be no President's levees but that the people may call on plain Thomas Jefferson whenever they please." A Republican paper in New York said that, "it is probable that opposers of our Government will be furnished with another text for comment," in this innovation.[4]

On December 8, 1801, President Jefferson instituted his

[1] "The first sitting of this first truly republican Congress," *Aurora*, Dec. 15, 1801.

[2] *Boston Gazette*, Dec. 17, 1801. Washington letter of Dec. 7.

The *Aurora*, Dec. 10, 1801 (Thursday), said, from the Editor, Washington City, Dec. 7: "If the Houses form this morning, it is probable that the President will send his message to them on Wednesday, and you may expect it in Philadelphia on Friday morning." On Dec. 11, 1801, it published another letter from the Editor in Washington dated Dec 7, in which he said: "The President speaks very animatedly on the naturalization law and on the judiciary, and on the militia law and juries." As this was the day before the Message was delivered, Duane, the Editor, evidently had seen an advance copy.

American Daily Advertiser (Phil.) Dec. 11, 1801: "A letter from a respectable member of Congress, received yesterday by the Editor, states that the President of the United States will make his communication to Congress this session in the form of a message."

[3] *Gazette of the United States*, Dec. 11, 1801.

[4] *New York Evening Post*, Dec. 11, 1801; *Salem Gazette*, Dec. 15, 1801; *American Citizen* (N. Y.), Dec. 12, 1801.

new practice, which was thus reported in the newspapers: "A Message was received from the President of the United States by Mr. Lewis, his Secretary, as follows: 'Mr. Speaker, I am directed by the President of the United States to hand you a letter acompanying a communication in writing from the President to the Houses of Congress.' Mr. Lewis then laid the Message and documents on the Speaker's table and, having withdrawn, the Message was read by the Clerk of the House."[1] As reported in the House records:

The following Message was delivered by Mr. Lewis, the President's Secretary, to the Speaker of the House and read by the Clerk. "December 8, 1801. The circumstances under which we find ourselves at this place rendering it inconvenient in the mode heretofore practiced of making by personal address the first communications between the legislative and executive branches, I have adopted that by Message, as used on all subsequent occasions through the session. In doing this, I had principal regard to the convenience of the Legislature, to the economy of their time, to their relief from the embarassment of immediate answers, on subjects not yet fully before them, and to the benefits thence resulting to the public affairs.

"Trusting that a procedure founded in these motives will meet their approbation, I beg leave of you, Sir, to communicate the inclosed Message, with the documents accompanying it, to the Hon. the House of Representatives, and pray you to accept, to yourself, and them the homage of my highest respect and consideration, THOMAS JEFFERSON. The Honorable, the Speaker of the House of Representatives."

The Message itself began with the words: "Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives."[2] President Washington's Speeches had also begun: "Fellow Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives." President Adams' Speeches had changed this formula to "Gentlemen of the Senate and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives."

In the House, the message was referred, as the Speeches had been, to the Committee of the Whole; but it was very early intimated that probably the usual Address in reply would not be given.[3]

[1] *Aurora*, Dec. 12, 1801.
[2] As given in the *Aurora*, Dec. 12, 1801.
[3] *Newport Mercury*, Dec. 22, 1801.

There was great curiosity in Washington to learn what the President had written to Congress, and the Administration organ, the *National Intelligencer,* said: [1]

So great was the demand for this important document on the evening of its appearance that the greatest efforts of the press were unequal to it, and we were reluctantly obliged to stop its sale, two hours before midnight, from a respect to superior claims of distant subscribers. To the honor of the Post Master, he kept the mail open until 12 o'clock, which was seven hours later than the usual time of closing. The demand did not cease here. Gaining strength from a more general perusal of the Message, it continued for three days, during which we issued several successive editions.

The President's innovation at once became the object of a savage attack in the Federalist newspapers.

A Washington correspondent of a Boston paper said:[2]

Whatever others may think of this procedure, I hold it highly disrespectful to the Legislature, and an unnecessary deviation from a usage established by President Washington, and, I believe, practiced by the Executives of all the States. The excuses for it, in the *envelope,* are futile and contradictory. It is true that it is an humble imitation of the mode in which Bonaparte communicated to the French Legislature; but I am yet to learn that it is therefore right and fit. If the President is conscious that some part of his recent conduct will not bear discussion, he has been politic in communicating with Congress by message rather than orally. Had he delivered a Speech, an Answer would have been voted; in the debate on this Answer, the Minority would have moved such amendments as would have given them an opportunity to expose and condemn that conduct; but as Messages admit of no Answer, the gag is effectually placed on their mouths, excepting indeed they came forward with a formal denunciation.

[1] *National Intelligencer,* Dec. 14, 1801. A letter from "A Respectable Farmer" in the Federalist *Newport Mercury,* Jan. 12, 1802, compared the Message unfavorably with Washington's Farewell Address, and termed it "an extraordinary message, the whole tenor appears to be at variance with the wise counsel contained in the legacy of our sage Patriot"; and it said that Washington's Address was "different from the bold declamation and impertinent froth of the noisy demagogues and mock patriots of the present day."

[2] *Columbian Centinel,* Dec. 19, 23, 26, 1801.

Another Boston paper said that it was more and more convinced that "the great cause which led the President to address the Legislature by Message was the fear of submitting his recent conduct to the scrutinizing investigation of the minority of Congress." [1] A New Hampshire paper remarked sarcastically that "Mr. Jefferson is an original genius — the inventor of Messages" and that the fact that it is "a variance from the modes of Washington and Adams is a sufficient reason" for the new practice in the minds of every good Republican.[2] The Washington correspondent of a Connecticut newspaper said that: "The Message occupies much of the public attention here, and I yesterday heard one of the most open of the prevailing sect allow that the newly adopted mode of communicating with the Legislature betrayed an unaccountable pusillanimity." [3] A New York paper said that whether the President's action "has proceeded from pride or humility, from a temperate love of reform or from a wild spirit of innovation, is submitted to the conjectures of the curious. A single observation shall be indulged — since all agree that he is unlike his predecessors in essential points, it is a mark of consistency to differ from them in matters of form." [4]

The *Washington Federalist* said that the practice of delivering a Speech in person had been said by some "to be an imitation of British precedent, but of this we believe Gen. Washington to have been as good a judge as Mr. Jefferson, and far more of a Republican. The President's

[1] *Boston Gazette,* Dec. 26, 1801; *Washington Federalist,* Jan. 11, 1802; William Sullivan in *The Public Men of the Revolution* (1847) said that Mr. Jefferson "chose to depart from the Federal practice of going to meet Congress and making a Speech . . . because a Speech may be answered and a Message cannot."

[2] *Farmers Museum,* Jan. 5, 1802, letter from "A True Republican."

[3] *Connecticut Courant,* Dec. 28, 1801; *Boston Gazette,* Dec. 24, 1801; *Columbian Centinel,* Dec. 26, 1801; This letter, written Dec. 9, began as follows: "In my last, I made you acquainted with the organization of the Seventh Congress. Since then nothing of importance has occurred. The city abounds with office seekers from every part of the Union, who are quite profuse of their servile adulation of the reigning powers. A more pitiful set never walked on feet. Many alterations may speedily be expected. But as all of the hangers-on cannot have a sop, their fawnings will ere long give place to howlings, if nothing worse. The majority are completely drilled to every movement dictated by the chiefs of the party."

[4] *New York Evening Post,* Dec. 17, 18, 1801, "Examination No. I."

neglect of a personal address appears rather than otherwise an innovation, intended to catch some childish applause. What were the 'circumstances' that rendered his presence in the Capitol 'inconvenient'? The Address is concluded by again using the unmeaning French expression of 'accept the homage of my high respect and consideration.' It were far better sacredly to pay *to the* Constitution this 'homage of respect and consideration.'"[1]

The *Gazette of the United States* in Philadelphia said that:[2]

As the President omitted to treat the representatives of the people with the customary civility and condescension of meeting them in person at the opening of the session, but chose, like an Eastern prince, to remain in his palace out of the sight of his people, and to send his communication by a messenger, it is but reasonable to suppose that the people's representatives will feel self-respect to omit to wait upon him with an Answer.

To this, the *Aurora* retorted:[3]

Bronson [editor of the *Gazette*] says he hopes the representatives of the people will not condescend to wait on the President, as he has been so impolitic as not to visit them (in form) — but he forgets that to avoid the ridiculous pomp that has been heretofore displayed in visits in form and levees, the school for hypocrisy and adulation, is a sufficient inducement for a republican President to stay at home. Bronson compared the President of the United States to an Eastern Prince, because he has not visited in form the Legislature of the Union. But how much more like Eastern Princes have our former Presidents been, for the conveyance of whom about 200 yards, no less than four horses would suffice, and these white, in imitation of the royal parade of the King of England, with equerries, pages, footmen and horsemen, some to support the ponderous bag, others the glittering sword.

[1] *Washington Federalist,* Dec. 16, 1801.

[2] *Gazette of the United States,* Dec. 15, 1801; *Connecticut Courant,* Dec. 28, 1801. A New York newspaper even attacked the President's grammar, and the *Washington Federalist* sarcastically defended it because it said the message "was not sent to the House in his own handwriting, hence we presume it was laboriously revised before submitted to public inspection." *Washington Federalist,* Dec. 22, 1801, quoting criticism by *New York Commercial Advertiser.*

[3] *Aurora,* Dec. 14, 1801; *National Aegis* (Worcester), Dec. 14, 1801.

It is high time that these attempts to introduce aristocratic forms should be put an end to.

The *Gazette* then countered on the *Aurora:*

The *Aurora* man says the inducement for the Republican President to stay at home, instead of meeting the Congress in form, was to avoid a ridiculous pomp and to shut the door of the school of hypocrisy and adulation. We are sorry he pays so poor a compliment to the Republican fellow citizens in Congress, for surely he does not expect hypocrisy or adulation from the Federal members towards the Republican Chief. No. We fear their country's happiness will require candour from them, however unpleasant it may be to his feelings.

The *Gazette* also attacked the President's opening language, as follows:

Mr. Jefferson, in his new mode of communicating with Congress, copies the French style of address. He began with "Fellow Citizens, etc." He might have spared the insult to the feelings of some of the members by saying "Gentlemen and Fellow Citizens," and then he properly would have included all the members.

To this, the *Aurora* replied:

Bronson says the President insulted *some* of the members of the Legislature by calling them fellow citizens, and not gentlemen. If Mr. Bronson means that they were called out of their proper names, we perfectly agree with him, for we have always been of opinion that some of them, and *his* friends too, have neither deserved to be called *gentlemen* nor fellow citizens

The *Aurora* might also have said that Jefferson's language in addressing Congress was precisely that used by Washington.

The other Anti-Federalist papers came swiftly to Jefferson's defense. His Administration organ in Worcester, Massachusetts, said:[1]

[1] *National Aegis,* Dec. 23, 1801. See also letter from "Civis" in *Aurora,* Dec. 16, 1801: "It has been said that the President is making innovations upon the customary order of procedure, . . . that he has shown a disrespect to the representatives of the people by not addressing them personally. When political animosity and the heat of party spirit are to be

We remark the same attention to the public convenience, the same regard for economy and republican simplicity, for which the President has been uniformly distinguished. The unmeaning ceremony of rising in a body and presenting a crude and indigested Answer upon the spur of occasion is judiciously and prudently avoided. The parade and pageantry of a personal attendance upon the Legislature may afford to a monarch an opportunity for displaying his sacred person to the gazing eyes of the populace, but in a government like ours when a President may be seen and heard without a formal exhibition of his person, there can be no occasion for this splendid raree-show. In the stillness of the written message, we see nothing disrespectful to the Legislation, "no humble imitation of the practice adopted by the Chief Consul of France," but an exemplification of the principles by which this great and good man has been constantly directed.

One of the ablest defences appeared as an editorial in the *Independent Chronicle,* in Boston, on December 21, as follows:

The spirit of faction must be drained to the dregs when there is nothing to be said against the President but that his communication to Congress has been in the form of a message rather than in that of a speech. Does our Constitution recognize a speech as a thing necessary or proper, to be made by the First Magistrate to the Supreme Legislature of the Nation? To be sure, he may appear personally and may make a Speech. If he has an insidious design to pledge the Legislature, by a premature opinion, on a subject not properly before them, he may take an unfair advantage of the spirit of accommodation too apt to be displayed on such occasions and may acquire an undue influence by this political stratagem. This is almost invariably done under the Government of England, and undoubtedly would be very agreeable here,

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gratified, what faults cannot be enumerated! What charges cannot be accumulated! If the conduct Mr. Jefferson has displayed by sending his Message is more consonant and agreeable with the native simplicity of his manners and principles; if he does not choose to continue the vain and miserable forms of pageantry and pomp; if he does not think proper to consume and waste the time of the House in drawing and preparing Answers, what liberal and reflecting man can throw upon him any blame, can accuse him of any disrespectful conduct? Since there are no established rules in these cases, it consequently follows that every President can adopt whichsoever is most agreeable to himself."

to those *few* who wish to assimilate the administration of our public concerns to that standard. But the Convention who made the Federal Constitution never contemplated such a measure. . . . Before Mr. Jefferson is censured for this useful innovation, would it not be well to make it certain that the former practice was more agreeable to the spirit and design of that instrument under which he is acting? Let the Republicans recollect the waste of time and treasure and the temper that has marked the former proceedings of Congress on these occasions. Every lawyer of eminence had a speech to make upon some abstract question which cost the community about a thousand dollars an hour. A most elegant speech of three hours in length would, of course, come to 3000 dollars — for which they had no other satisfaction than to read in the *Centinel* that the honorable Fisher Ames or the Hon. Roger Griswold was upon his legs on the reply to the President's Speech three hours, and made a most sublime oration, although Lord Chesterfield has asserted that there never was a good speech which lasted one hour. Thus Congress has been turned into a sort of Robinhood society, where they have been all speakers and no hearers; and a "good session" has lasted almost the whole of the year. It has been, no doubt, flattering to the Executive to have this deliberative assembly pledged, individually, to the support of certain measures, in their proper functions, by a sudden impulse, after a tedious and irritating debate. The whole House was then obliged to travel, wet or dry, warm or cold, to pay their respects at the shrine of power; or the delinquents were to be libelled in the public newspapers as opposers of the government. In this way, things have been; but it is infinitely better to have them as they now are. And if the great end of government is to execute the duties assigned by the Constitution to the several departments, it must be evident that the communication by message, from time to time, is far preferable to the former mode, which served no other purpose than to extort precipitate opinions, when the utmost deliberation was requisite to ensure a wise and temperate decision.

After all, of what consequence is it whether it be a Speech or a Message; since the late communication of our beloved President is the most instructive and enlightened address which has ever been made by the First Magistrate to the Supreme Legislature, in any age or country?

A later defence of Jefferson in the same paper, while weaker, gives an interesting picture of physical conditions

at that time in the City of Washington.[1] After saying that some had been "wounded at the simplicity of the stile in which the business has been conducted," and having said that "wherever the pride of man has attempted by pomp and show to give energy to plain simple truth, fraud and corruption have gained the throne and usurped the power," the writer stated that Jefferson had not given an opinion against the old practice or debarred himself from reverting to it in the future, but that he had simply found a Message more convenient on this particular occasion:

> The public ought to know that the President's house is one mile and a half from the place where the Congress meets — that at this season the whole place is a quagmire, and no carriages can be had to carry the members in order to reply to a complimentary address. Millions have been foolishly lavished by Blodgett, L'Enfant and others to no purpose, and it seemed to be reserved for Jefferson to check the extravagant and fruitless profusion.

All this varied criticism and elaborate defence of Jefferson's innovation were purely for political purposes. Federalists, as well as Anti-Federalists, knew perfectly well the real reason for the President's action and that it was thoroughly justified. The practice of making reply Addresses had become an unmitigated nuisance, wasting the time of both branches of Congress in purely futile debate, productive of hot talk and enmity, without any corresponding advantage; and, in their secret hearts, both parties were glad to get rid of so useless a custom. Jefferson himself summed up the whole matter correctly and concisely in a letter to Dr. Benjamin Rush, on December 20, 1801:[2]

> Our winter campaign has opened with more good humor than I expected. By sending a Message, instead of making a Speech at the opening of the session, I have prevented the bloody conflict to which the making an Answer would have committed them. They consequently were able to set into real business at once, without losing 10 or 12 days in combatting an answer. Hitherto there has been no disagreeable altercations.

[1] *Independent Chronicle,* Dec. 28, 1801.
[2] *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Ford), IX.

An amusing minor episode connected with this affair was the consternation caused in the Federalist press by the publication in the Anti-Federalist papers of a stolen letter, written to the editor of the *Gazette of the United States* by Richard Peters, Jr. (the son of the Federalist Judge Richard Peters of the United States District Court in Pennsylvania), who later became Reporter of the United States Supreme Court. It appears that William Duane, Editor of the *Aurora,* and James Cheetham, editor of the *American Citizen,* strong adherents of Jefferson, were staying at Stelle's Hotel in Washington, at the opening of the session. Peters and John Wallace, a Philadelphia lawyer, were also in Washington; and Peters wrote two letters to Bronson, editor of the *Gazette of the United States,* severely attacking Jefferson. These letters, stamped and sealed, he left at the hotel bar, for the mail; and it was stated that Duane or Cheetham was in the room at the time. Bronson, to whom the letters were written, received only the envelopes, postmarked, and containing blank sheets of paper; but, two weeks later, one of the letters was published in the *American Citizen* in New York.[1] Bronson at once intimated that Duane and Cheetham were responsible for the theft, pointing out that Duane had written on December 7, to the *Aurora,* that he had seen Peters' letter and giving a summary of it; and he offered a reward of $50 for evidence as to the thief. Cheetham denied the theft and said that when he published the letter, he thought it was a forgery. Duane retorted that Bronson was not the real editor of the *Gazette,* but only "the mere puppet of the royal show," that Peters and Wallace themselves were the real editors, that Peters' letter was "remarkable for nothing but excessive abuse of Mr. Jefferson, for a dereliction of every good principle, and for the lowest and most vulgar language. Respecting Judge Peters, we wish not to impute the errors of the father to the son; he has himself enough to answer for. But Judge Peters has been and still continues to be a violent partizan of the monarchical faction in our country, and his son

[1] For details of this episode, see *Aurora,* Dec. 11, 22; *Gazette of the United States,* Dec. 21, 22, 24, 1801, Jan. 16, 1803; *Washington Federalist,* Dec. 28, 1801; *Boston Gazette,* Dec. 31, 1801.

seems to follow his example. . . . It will be seen that Peters is of the high toned party, that he, he is a Hamiltonian." Duane then proceeded to publish the letter, which was dated Sunday, December 6, 1801, as follows:

> A report was current here, on my arrival, that Mr. Jefferson did not intend the accustomed communication to Congress in their meeting. That report I believe is true. Deserting those forms which custom, whose basis here, as in most cases, is reason and propriety, he intends to adopt a new conduct. A written communication is to be made — enough to conform to the requisition of the Constitution of the United States and no more. Those bold declarations of opinion — those expressions of sentiments, in past, as well as probable future occurrences, which have always attended the opening of Congress, during the wise administration of the virtuous Washington and the well-meant government of the once-wise Adams were originals which Mr. Jefferson will not descend to copy. Some ascribe this conduct to timidity — others to Republican simplicity and a hatred to the trammels of parliamentary proceedings. I guess a different cause — republican folly — and republican anxiety, for compromise which the expressions of his real sentiment might prevent. All who know Mr. J. know he possesses not the bold uncompromising mind which alone dignifies man.

Duane then proceeded to deny explicitly that he stole the letter, saying that he was "neither so base as to steal nor so mean as to open a confidential letter from any one." He carefully avoided, however, saying in what manner he had seen, on December 7, the contents of this sealed private letter.

The episode, while seemingly of little importance, probably had a serious effect upon Jefferson, in confirming his view that the Judiciary of the United States had become simply an adjunct to the Federalist party, and that the Federal Judges were determined to engage in politics against him. It is to be noted that, in his Message, he had urged a reform of the Judicial system, intending a repeal of the Circuit Court Act passed in the closing days of the Adams Administration. Judge Peters, the father of the writer of the stolen letter, was one of the Federal Judges who was most obnoxious to Jefferson and his party; for this Judge

had sat with Judge Samuel Chase, in noted cases involving the Alien and Sedition laws and the application of the common law to crimes against the United States — both of which topics were anathema to the Anti-Federalists. Jefferson, therefore, was not likely to treat as a trivial matter this severe attack upon him by the son of Judge Peters.

Within a few weeks after the sending of the written Message, further assaults upon it by the Federalists were diverted by the occurrence of a more serious matter — the introduction of the Circuit Court Repeal bill, on the passage of which Jefferson was insistent, and to which the Federalists were violently opposed. During the ensuing debate in Congress, the excitement over the Message died away.

While the practice of sending a Message continued to be the object of some Federalist criticism throughout the Administration of President Jefferson, as well as that of his successor President Madison,[1] nevertheless, its reasonableness became generally recognized, until, in 1811, John Adams wrote to Josiah Quincy that he thought the question unimportant: "I thank you for two presents, the Message and the documents. Mr. Madison follows the example of Mr. Jefferson in this instance; but is the difference between a speech and a message of much importance? Does the aversion to speeches and the partiality for messages arise or proceed from the spirit of democracy or aristocracy?"[2] And although John Randolph, who was always in the minority, expressed himself, in 1809, as favoring the Address of Congress in reply, owing to opportunity thus given to the minority to discuss the Administration,[3] no other states-

[1] It may be noted that the Governors of South Carolina and of Virginia at once followed Jefferson's example by sending a Message to their Legislature, instead of making a personal appearance. *Aurora,* Dec. 12, 1801, as to South Carolina; *Salem Gazette,* Jan. 8, 1802, said: "Gov. Monroe of Virginia, aping the conduct of President Jefferson, has sent a *letter* to the Legislature of that State, instead of meeting them and addressing them orally."

[2] See letter of John Adams to Quincy, Jan. 15, 1811. *Life of Josiah Quincy* (1867) by Edmund Quincy.

[3] On May 26, 1809, John Randolph said in the House of Representatives: "It would ill become me, who so highly approved then, and who so highly approve now the change introduced by communicating to the two Houses by Message instead of by Speech, to say anything that might imply a disapprobation of it. I like it. . . . But I am not so clear, though we

man is on record as favoring a return to the old custom of the Presidential Speech to Congress. It remained for Woodrow Wilson, in 1913, to make that return.[1]

Mr. Ford read a paper on

The First Separate Map of Pennsylvania.

In 1681 Penn issued a folio tract of eight pages, without a true title and having as a caption title on page 1: A brief Account of the | Province of Pennsylvania, | lately Granted by the | King, | Under the Great | Seal of England, | to | William Penn | and his | Heirs and Assigns. The colophon read: London, | Printed for Benjamin Clark in George-yard in Lombard- | street. 1681. Four copies of this tract are located by Mr. Cole in the *Church Catalogue*, viz., in the British Museum, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Charlemagne Tower Collection), Newberry Library and Henry E. Huntington Library. It is sometimes described as a "first edition," but erroneously, of Penn's

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were then half-right, that we were wholly right; though on this subject, I do not mean to give a definite opinion. No man can turn over the Journals of the first Six Congresses of the United States, without being fairly sickened with the adulation often replied by the Houses of Congress to the President's Communications. But nevertheless, the answer to an Address, although that answer might finally contain the most exceptionable passages, was in fact the greatest opportunity which the opposition to the measures of the Administration had of canvassing and sifting its measures; and in my mind whatever goes to take away this opportunity, goes so far to narrow down the rights of the minority or opposition, commonly so called, and in fact to enlarge the rights of the majority and the Administration party, so called. . . . This opportunity of discussion of the answer to an Address, however exceptionable the answer might be when it had received the last seasoning for the Presidential palate, did afford the best opportunity to take a review of the measures of the Administration, to canvass them fully and fairly, without there being any question raised whether the gentleman was in order or not; and I believe the time spent in canvassing the answer to a Speech was at least as well spent as a great deal that we have expended since we discontinued the practice." *Annals of Congress*, 11th Cong., 1st Sess., 92.

[1] Since the delivery of the above paper, Senator Lodge has made to me the interesting suggestion that an additional reason which may have impelled Jefferson to substitute a message for a speech was the fact that he was a poor speaker and consequently disliked to make public speeches. — C. W.

Some | Account | of the | Province | of | Pennsylvania, issued in the same year and by the same printer, which is quite another document.

In *A brief Account* is a postscript: "*Whoever are desirous to be concern'd in this* Province, *they may be treated with, and further Satisfied, at* Philip Fords *in* Bowlane *in* Cheapside, *and at* Thomas Rudyards, *or* Benjamin Clarks *in* George-yard *in* Lombard-street, *London.*

"There is likewise Printed a *Map of Pennsylvania,* together with a Description at the End of it; and some Proposals."

This postscript is more suggestive than the tract itself. Philip Ford was to become the dishonest manager of Penn's English interests, but he was the author of *A Vindication of William Penn, Proprietary of Pennsylva-|nia from the late Aspersions spread abroad on purpose to | Defame him,* written after Penn had sailed for America and printed in 1683 by Benjamin Clarke, a printer whose name occurs in the *Term Catalogues* only between 1679 and 1682. Clarke issued a number of tracts on the Pennsylvania and East Jersey adventures. Rudyard was a lawyer who had been concerned in the trial of Penn and Mead in 1670, and came to America as Attorney General of the Jersey colony, in which he was associated, with Penn, among the original undertakers. *A brief Account* appears to have been intended for English consumption only, for no translation into a foreign language is known.

The postscript stated that there was also printed a "Map of Pennsylvania, together with a Description at the End of it." So far as I know no map of Pennsylvania has been identified as that mentioned in the postscript, and no mention of the map is made in *Some Account* of 1681, though the list of references of whom further satisfaction could be had is repeated. *Some Account* was translated in full into German and printed at Amsterdam in 1681.[1] In addition to the three English references there were, in Amsterdam, "Jan Roeloss van der Werf, in de Heere-straet, in de Vergulde Vijshoek," and in Rotterdam, "Benjamin Furly,

[1] Eine | Nachricht | wegen der Landschaft | Pennsilvania | in | America: | Welche | Jüngstens unter dem Grossen Siegel | in | Engelland | an | William

Englischen Kaufman, welche in der ehemaligan Brauerey zur Kron auf den Schifmachers Hafen wohnet." There follows a short paragraph of comment, not found in *Some Account,* and a translation of a letter of Penn, written in 1674 to the burgomaster and Council of the city of Emden, and printed at the time in English, Latin, high and low German editions. In this Amsterdam translation it is dated 3d of the 12th month, 1674, or December 3. Following this letter are three pages explaining the meaning of some of the words used in the *Account.*

There also appeared at Rotterdam in 1681, from the press of Pieter van Wynbrugge, a translation of a part of *Some Account,* opening with an introductory paragraph and then beginning with the description of Pennsylvania on page 4 of the English print.[1] On the verso of title is a note on the English acre, presumably by the translator and signed "B. F."[2] The same references are given as in the Amsterdam issue, and Penn's letter to Emden is dated 14/24 of the 10th month, 1674, differing from that in the Amsterdam issue. While no mention of a map is made in the

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Penn, &c. | Sambt den Freyheiten und der Macht, so zu behöriger | guten Regierung derselben nötig, | übergeben worden, | und | Zum Unterricht derer, so etwan bereits bewogen, oder noch | möchten bewogen werden, ümb sich selbsten darhin | zu begeben, oder einige Bediente und Gesinde | an diesen Ort zu senden, hiermit | kund gethan wird. | Aus dem in London gedrucktem und aldar bey Benjamin Clarck, | Buchhändlern in George-Yard Lombard-street befindlichem | Englischen übergesetzet. | Nebenst beygefügtem ehemaligem im 1675. Jahr gedrucktem | Schreiben des oberwehnten Will. Penns. | In Amsterdam, gedruckt bey Christoff Cunraden, | Im Jahr 1681.

[1] Een kort Bericht | Van de Provintie ofte Landschap | Penn-Sylvania | genaemt, leggende in | America; | Nu onlangs onder het groote Zegel van Engeland | gegeven aan | William Penn, etc. | Mitsgaders | Van de Privilegien, ende Macht om | het selve wel te Regeeren. | Uyt het Engels overgeset na de Copye tot Londen gedrukt by Benja-|min Clark, Boekverkooper in George Yard Lombardstreet. 1681. | Waer by nu gevoegt is de Notificatie van s'Konings Placcaet, | in date van den 2 April 1681. waar inne de tegenwoordige | Inwoonders van Penn-Sylvania, belast word | Willem Penn en zijn Erfgenamen, als volkomene | Eygenaars en Gouverneurs, te gehoorsamen. | Als mede, | De Copye van een Brief by den selven W. P. geschreven aan | zekere Regeeringe Anno 1675. tegens de Vervolginge | en voor de Vryheyt van Conscientie, aan alle &c. | Tot Rotterdam, | Gedrukt by Pieter van Wynbrugge, Boek-Drukker in de | Leeuwestraat, in de Wereld Vol-Druk. Anno 1681.

[2] Benjamin Furly? It is impossible to determine which translation was first to appear, and neither follows exactly the English original.

Amsterdam tract, that of Rotterdam closes with the statement: "Daar is nu uytgekomen een Kaarte van dit Landschap." So that in four accounts printed in 1681, a map is advertised in two and not noticed in two. What was this map?

It has been assumed that Thomas Holme began his map in 1681, and it was eventually published by Robert Green [1] and John Thornton under his name but without date. But Thomas Holme was not appointed Surveyor General by Penn until April 18, 1682, and he was then described as "of the City of Waterford in the Kingdom of Ireland," where he had been a prominent Quaker for some years. Five days after the date of his commission he sailed in the *Amity* for Pennsylvania. His career and map are fully treated in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* XIX. 413; XX. 128, 248, but they prove beyond any doubt that he could have had no part in preparing the map of 1681. This merely deepens the mystery surrounding that map. Penn had, it is asserted, appointed William Crispin, formerly of the English navy and at the time one of the Proprietary's Commissioners for settling the colony in Pennsylvania, Surveyor General; but the vessel in which he sailed for America encountered adverse winds when nearing the capes of Delaware, and was driven back to the West Indies, where Crispin died. His son Silas married in 1683 Esther, daughter of Holme. Nothing is known of a commission from Penn issued to Crispin as Surveyor General.[2] So Holme's map cannot be the map of 1681. Phillips gives a Holme map as issued in London by George Willdey and the year 1681 is conjectured; but the title is that of the completed map, after the land had been divided into counties, townships and lots, and after Chester, Bucks and Philadelphia had been plotted. It must be later than 1681. The next map in point of time noted in Phillips' *List* is that sold by John Thornton and John Seller, for which the year 1683

[1] Robert Green published a number of maps and was located "near Ratcliff Cross" in 1674 and from 1675 "at the Rose and Crown in Budge Row." He was concerned, with J. Gascoigne, in "A New Map of Carolina" in 1682. *Term Catalogues* (Arber), I. 513.

[2] *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Biog.,* XXII. 45.

is conjectured. No other maps of that period are known to which suspicion could attach. By a process of elimination the possible maps were reduced to two, and one of those must be rejected as evidently representing a situation that must have existed later than 1681.

Yet such a process of arriving at a final conclusion has the weakness in the possible discovery of a hitherto unknown map which would prove to be the long sought and entirely proper map in point of time and things represented. It must be a printed map, for that is what the notice in the tracts specifies, and it should be accompanied by a "description." In looking through a volume of manuscript and printed maps in the John Carter Brown Library I found a printed map of Pennsylvania with the endorsement "With a description" in manuscript, the very words used in *A brief Account*. On opening the map I saw pasted to the bottom edge a statement printed in four columns, which, without a caption, is *the* description required. This collection of maps belonged to William Blathwayt (1649? — 1717), who, on May 19, 1680, was commissioned by the King to be his "Surveyor and Auditor General of all his revenues arising in America," and it was as his deputy that Edward Randolph played his not undistinguished part in New England history, and elsewhere. The authenticity of the maps are beyond question and were undoubtedly brought together to enable Blathwayt to understand the known parts of the continent which the King had assigned to him to rule as the royal fiscal representative.

The map to which this description is attached is that of Thornton and Seller. It carries in the upper left-hand corner a legend: A | Map of | Some of the South and east bounds | of Pennsylvania | in America | being partly inhabited. | Sold by John Thornton at the Signe of England | Scotland and Ireland in the Minories, and by | John Seller at his Shop in Popeshead | Alley in Cornhill, London. It extends from 298½° to 301° and 40° to 41½° north latitude.[1] It runs from New Jersey, but the detail, except

[1] It will be noted that these limits do not agree with those given in the grant to Penn; but it was unnecessary to map an expanse of territory which would not be settled for years, and royal grants were notoriously weak on geographical detail.

for an abandoned Indian fort, called Susquehannah fort, and names on the west shore of Chesapeake Bay, ceases with the Susquehannah River. Thus only some sixty miles to the west of the New Jersey line and some eighty-two miles from north to south are given with names. The designer or engraver has sprinkled hills and trees in the unoccupied spaces, each tree being named.[1] A comparison with the map of Holme's shows that the size and direction of the various streams differ, and even the names of proprietors, making it unlikely that the engraver of 1681 used the same basis or original as was presented by Holme. Nor does Holme note degrees either of latitude or longitude. His map is frankly extended to show the location of Philadelphia, how the place was laid out and the grants of land made to individuals. It is a surveyor's map made to record what had been accomplished. The map of 1681 was in anticipation of settlement, showing neither Philadelphia nor its proposed site and sparing such detail as crowds the Holme map. Unless the engraver took extraordinary liberties with a draft or survey before him, it would be difficult to see in the map of 1681 any suggestions of Holme, and it is safe to accept the earlier map as by unknown draughtsman and engraver. In fact, it was not until October, 1686, that Holme wrote to Penn that he intended "to send the Draughts for a map," which was some five years after the publication of the map "with a Description."

The "Description" follows:

Reader,

THE Intention of this *Map,* is to give an account of some of the Province of *Pennsylvania* in *America,* so far as the Relations received from persons that have been upon the place, could give any light towards it; together with other matters fit for them to know, that have any Inclinations to Transport themselves into those parts.

But the Reasons that first induced to this Draught, were chiefly these two: First, the desires of such persons as resolved to be concerned. Secondly, *To correct the Errors of those* Maps *that*

[1] It will also be noticed how much attention is given to trees in the printed accounts.

have taken in any part of this Country; for finding each *Map* at difference with it self, the Scale with the Latitude, and one *Map* with another, it was thought necessary to rectifie those mistakes, by a more *exact Map,* which hath been performed with as much Truth, Care and Skill, as at present can be, leaving room for time, and better Experience, to correct, and compleat it.

I. *The* Kings *Title to this* Province *before-granted.*

It is the *Jus Gentium,* or Law of Nations, that whatever is the Discovery of any Prince, is the right of that Prince that was at the Charge of the Discovery: Now this *Province* is a Member of that part of *America,* which the *King of Englands Ancestors* have been at the Charge of Discovering, and which they and he have taken great care to preserve and Improve.

II. William Penn's *Title from the* King, *and the Reason of the Grant.*

The *King* has been favourably pleased to Grant to *William Penn,* and his Heirs and Assigns, *under the Great Seal of* England, bearing Date the fourth day of *March,* One thousand six hundred and Eighty; all that tract of Land in *America,* with the Islands therein contained, and thereunto belonging, as the same is bounded on the *East* by *Delaware River,* from twelve miles distance *Northward* of *Newcastle Town,* to the three and fortieth degree of *Northern Latitude,* and extendeth *Westward* five degrees in *Longitude,* and is bounded on the *South* by a Circle drawn twelve Miles distance from *Newcastle* aforesaid *Northwards* and *Westwards,* to the beginning of the fourtieth degree of *North Latitude;* and then by a straight Line *Westward* to the limits of *Longitude* above mentioned: Together with divers great Powers, Prehem-inences, Authorities, Royalties, Franchises, and Immunities, and hath erected the said Tract of Land into a *Province* or *Seigniory,* by the Name of *Pennsylvania,* in order to the Establishing of a *Collony* or *Plantation* in the same: And hath thereby also further granted to the said *William Penn,* his Heirs and Assigns, Power and License, from time to time, to Assign, [2] Alien, Grant, Demise, or Enfeoff, such parts and parcels of the said *Province,* or Tract of Land, as he or they shall think fit, to such person or persons as shall be willing to purchase the same, in Fee-Simple, Fee-Tayl, or for Term of Life, or Years, to be holden of the said *William Penn, his Heirs and Assigns,* as of the Seigniory of *Windsor,* by such Services, Customs, and Rents, as shall seem fit to the said

William Penn, his Heirs and Assigns, and not immediately of the *King,* His Heirs and Successors, notwithstanding the Statute of *Quia Emptoris Terrarum.* The reason and ground of this Grant from the *King* to him and his Heirs, *&c.* was his Petition to the *King,* in which he set forth, *His Fathers Services; his own Sufferings and Losses, in relation to his Fathers Estate; And lastly, his long and costly Attendance without success:* In right and consideration of which, the *King* was graciously pleased to make the aforesaid Grant; to which Title the said *William Penn* adds that of the *Natives by purchase from them.*

III. *Of the Country and its Produce.*

It lies 600 Miles *South* of the *Latitude* of *England;* and as it is of the same side of the Line, so it is about the same degree with *Monpellier* in *France,* or *Naples* in *Italy:* The Air is generally clear and sweet, the *Summer* is longer and Hotter, and *Winter* shorter and Colder then in *England:* The Soil is said to be as good as any in those parts. It commonly produceth *Oak, Cedar, Mulberry, Chesnut, Walnut, Firr, Cyprus, Ash, Beech, Popaler, Sarsafrax, Medaler, Plumbs, Grapes, Peaches, Strawberries, Huckleberries, Cranberries, Hopps,* &c. *English* Fruit takes kindly, and produceth suddainly and plentifully; The Woods are furnished with Store of Wild Fowl, as *Turkeys, Pheasants, Heath-Cocks, Partridges, Pidgeons,* &c. The Earth well Watered with *Springs* and *Rivers,* and the Rivers stored with Fish, as *Sturgion, Sheepsheads, Cat-fish, Eeles,* &c. With Fowl, as *Swans, Gray and White Geese, Duck, Mallard,* &c. The Corn of the Country used by the *Indians,* produceth four hundred fold, is good and Hearty, both in Milk, and made into Bread; the price two Shillings six pence the Bushel: There is also good *English* Corn, as *Wheat, Barly, Rye and Oates, Wheat* under four Shillings the Bushel, *Barly and Rye* under three Shillings the Bushel, *Oats* about two Shillings the Bushel: There are also very good *Pease and Beans* of several sorts. The *Beef* is good, but *Pork* is very Sweet: The *Beef* at three pence, the *Pork* at two pence half penny the pound; *Butter* at six pence a pound, *Peaches* to Eat, or make Drink of, at eight pence the Bushel; A *Cow and Calf* about the Spring of the year, at five pounds, a pair of *Oxen* at ten pounds, a good *Breeding Sow* at thirty Shillings, a *Young* [3] *Breeding Mare* at eight pounds. It is to be Noted that these foregoing prizes and sums, are to be paid *with one half of the Value in* English *Goods,* at the Rates they are bought at in *England.*

The Country also abounds with several sorts of Wild Creatures, as *Elkes, Deer, Beavers, Racoons, Mincks, Martins, Wild Catts, Otters,* &c. some of which are good Food and Cheap, as a Fat *Buck* at two Shillings *English* Goods, others of them considerable for their Furs: The way of Traffique, is to send to the *Southern* Plantations, *Corn, Beef, Pork, Fish, Sider, and Pipestaves;* the *Skins* and *Furs* for *England.* The Conveniency that belongs to the *Province* in point of *Navigation,* is two fold; the one through *Chesapeak Bay,* and the other *Delaware Bay,* by which Ships of great Burthen may come and Trade to the said *Province.*

IV. *Of the present Inhabitants.*

That part of the Country which is at all Inhabited, is at the head of *Chesapeak Bay,* and on the *West* side of *Delaware* River, they are by Nation *Sweads, Dutch, English,* who are capable of giving Entertainment to New Commers, till they can provide for themselves.

V. *What the Countrey is believed capable of.*

It is thought by several knowing Persons, that have Travelled those parts of *America,* and have been well acquainted with places in *Europe* of the same degree, that there may be *Silke, and Wine,* if not *Oyle;* and for *Flax, Hemp, Woad, Madder, Liquorish, Pot-ashes, and Iron,* there needs to be no question.

VI. *Of the Government.*

1*st.* The *Governour* and *Freemen,* have the power of *making Laws,* so that no Law can be made; nor Money raised, *but by the Peoples consent.*

2*ly.* That the *Rights* of the People of *England* are in force there.

3*ly.* That making no Law against *Allegiance,* they may make all Laws requisite for the Prosperity and security of the said *Province.*

VII. *Of the Conditions.*

The *Province* is cast at a penny an Acre; But he sets apart several parcels, which he calls *Shares;* these he sells; saving a *Quit-rent,* necessary for to secure the Title and Tenure: That is, whereas 5000 Acres (which makes a *Share*) comes (at a penny an Acre) to 20*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* yearly, for 100*l.* down, he sells off that yearly Rent 18*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and reserves but 50*s.* which also may be purchased off to a Crown.

Every person there *Arriving*, hath *Fifty Acres* per *Head* for themselves and their Servants, be they Men or Women; and those Servants *Fifty Acres* each, when they have served *Four Years.* [4]

VIII. *Persons fittest for Plantations.*

Those persons that providence seems to have fitted for Plantations, are *Industrious Husbandmen, Laborious Handicrafts men,* As *Carpenters, Shipwrights, Rope-makers, Smiths, Brick-makers, Weavers, Taylors, Tanners, Coopers, Mill-wrights, Joyners, Shooemakers, Turners, Potters, such as dress Flax, Hemp, and Wool;* With many others.

It seems also a fit place for *Younger Brothers, and Men of small Estates,* who with the industry of a few Servants, may in two or three years time, be plentifully accommodated; Also all Ingenious Men, that are lovers of *Planting, Gardening,* & the like quiet & useful Imployments; But they that go, must wisely count the Cost, *For they must either work themselves, or be able to imploy others;* And Countrey labour to *clear ground,* & *raise Provisions,* will be first necessary; other things by degrees.

IX. *What is fit for the Journey, and first to be done there.*

1*st.* The Passage for Men and Women is *Five Pounds* a head, for Children under seven years, *Fifty Shillings,* Sucking Children *nothing.*

2*ly.* The goods fit to take with them for use or sale, are all Utensils for *Husbandry, and Building, and House-hold-stuff;* Also all sorts of things for *Apparrel,* as *Cloath, Stuffes, Linen,* &c. Wherein all that desire may be more particularly Informed, by *Philip Ford* at the *Hood* and *Scarf* in *Bow-Lane* in *London.*

Lastly, Being by the mercy of God safely *Arrived;* be it in *October,* Two men may clear as much ground for Corn, as usually brings by Harvest following above *Twenty Quarters;* In the mean time they must buy Corn, which they may have as aforesaid; and if they buy them two *Cows* and two *Breeding Sows;* with what the *Indians* for a small matter will bring in, of *Fowl, Fish, and Venison,* that and their industry will supply them. It is Apprehended, that *Fifteen Pounds* stock for each Man (who is first well in Cloaths; and provided with fit working Tools for himself,) will by the blessing of God carry him thither, and keep him, till his own Plantation will Accommodate him: But all are most seriously cautioned, how they proceed in the disposal of themselves; 'Tis true, *The Earth is the Lords and the fullness*

thereof; and it seems to many, to be the time wherein those desolate Western parts of the World are to be Planted, and have their day, as *Asia, Africa,* and *Europe* have had, (of which there are divers prouisees extant) yet let all have a Reverend regard to Gods Providence in their removal, and be serious in it, rather seeking the comforts of retirement, and sufficiency for Life (like the blessed Patriarks of Old,) then ease, fulness and wealth; So shall his Blessings be upon them, who is the Salvation of the ends of the Earth.

The text of the "Description" is that of *A brief Account,* shortened and modified to suit the smaller space of the form of printing. It constitutes, therefore, a fifth description of the province issued in 1681, and so rare are the issues that no single library contains them all. My study is based upon *A brief Account* in the Henry E. Huntington Library, *Some Account,* the two translations and the map "with a Description," in the John Carter Brown Library, and other copies of the map without the attached printed matter in other libraries. It would have taken me far afield to determine how far the first map of the Penn tract was original. It does not correspond to that of Augustin Herrman, engraved by Faithorne and printed in London in 1673, nor have I located any map which could have been used as a model by the engraver of 1681. It seems to stand as an original production, but the surveyor, draughtsman and engraver are all unknown. Having identified the map and connected it with the tract which accompanied it, but in which no existing copy shows it to have been ever bound, I rest content to pass to others the other questions raised.

This leaves the question of the "Proposals" mentioned in *A brief Account.* As the pamphlet itself was in fact a proposal or invitation to engage, it is reasonable to suppose that the "proposals" involved some form of contract entered into between the Proprietary and the intending settler. The King's grant was dated March 4, 1681, and Penn must have early laid out his plans for advertising the advantages and for taking on associates.[1] No copy of "Proposals" as such has been located and I believe that an example is

[1] Claypoole sent to Clarridge, May 26, 1681, a paper "that William Penn gave him about Pennsylvania."

to be found in "Certain Conditions or Concessions agreed upon by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and those who are the adventurers and purchasers in the same province the Eleventh of July, one thousand six hundred and eighty one," printed in *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, I. 26. It is witnessed by Thomas Rudyard, one of those to whom interested immigrants were referred in *A brief Account*. It provides in general terms for settlers and before any laws or regulations for the province had been framed. It precedes the laying out of a plot for "a large Town or City." It binds the purchasers in such matters as would naturally be carried by a first contract. In default of any similar document these "Conditions" seem to meet the requirements of the "Proposals," and I put them forward as a modified form if not the "Proposals" themselves.

JOB FOX to J. WATSON WEBB.

[Albany,] April 26th, 1843.

My dear Col., — I have just now returned from a visit to the western part of our State, and was astonished to find that Boston has such hold upon the Merchants, firm after firm, loosening their connection with this, our noble City, and fastening and strengthening the chains that our enterprising Yankee friends have so cunningly and speedily forged — entering into a pleasant, because it is a profitable bondage. We ought to arouse ourselves. The citizens, landholders and all classes, whose interests are *permanently New York interests must awaken to a sense of their position* and no longer *flatter themselves* that Western and New Y. merchants will *visit New York City* in preference to going out of the State, when it is their *interest* so to do. We must not place too much reliance on River facilities either; for freight or passengers. *No man* in his right mind can but admit that the accommodations for travel on the North River are of the most splendid description and that the Captains and all the 'ways and means' of happiness and speed are abundant. These exceeding comforts will draw largely upon the *pleasure travel*. Our Hotels and our Steam Boats will reap their reward; *but this is not the kind of interest to be looked to for 'permanent benefit.'* The small price of passage from Albany to New York is of no service. What Merchant would come down the river to save three or four

dollars and buy goods in the par excellence great commercial mart, if by going to Boston, he may save on the bargains he contemplates, many times that sum? New York must construct for herself, and at once the means of communication at all times with her Western interests, that shall afford the *best facilities* and at *all seasons for* Merchants. This one important thing secured, the hand of fellowship must be *reheld out* and *equal* inducements presented, in *every particular* or mark my word, New York City will be shorn of much glory.

The *Rich* of our city appear to be heedless of this great and important matter, depending on the vain hope, maybe, that the 'State' will do something — let them hope no longer, but assume the Staff themselves.

The Middling and Labouring, the Mechanical class especially, are deeply interested. They will see by and by and *feel it* to be *necessary,* it is easier to vote to tax the rich than to subscribe. Therefore the landholder and enterprising citizen should step forward in this matter, place the facts, independent of cliques and one sided interest, out fairly and boldly, regardless of personal considerations and the people will stretch every nerve to complete, and speedily too, the Road to Albany.

Please, Sir, look at, and publish the extracts in the 'Evening Transcript' of 25th March, from a speech of P. P. F. Degrand. There are many true touches, which will awaken, or help to awaken the 'Slumbering Dutch City.' Yr. Obt. Svt.

Job Fox.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Dr. Shattuck.

DECEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P.M., the First Vice-President, Mr. LORD, in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported gifts:

From Miss Martha C. Codman, the diary of Katharine (Greene) Amory (Mrs. John Amory), her great-great-grandmother, 1775–1777, and a copy of her privately printed edition, in which she included letters from the letter-books of Mrs. Amory's father, Rufus Greene, 1759 to 1777.

From the family of the late Henry R. Dalton, copies of the official correspondence between Governor Andrew of Massachusetts and Charles H. Dalton, 1861–1865.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From the estate of Henry H. Edes, through Mrs. Edes, two christening caps: one worn by Dr. Mather Byles at his baptism in 1706; and the other by the children of John and Sarah (Coffin) Leach, of Boston, who were married on July 24, 1750.

From Mr. Mayo, photographs of John D. Long and President McKinley's Cabinet.

From Charles N. Cogswell, six caricature sketches of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, issued in Baltimore early in the Civil War.

From Miss Helen F. Kimball, photographs of the interior of Brattle Square Church, and one of Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop.

From John Wardwell Wood, a medal of the Endymion Preparatory School, Geneva, New York.

From the Delaware State Society of the Cincinnati, a bronze medal commemorating the Triennial Meeting of the General Society held at Wilmington, on May 10, 1923.

From Gerald Boardman, the medal of the Plymouth Monument.

From Mr. Minot, the insignia of the Order of St. Stanislaus conferred by the Russian Government on the late Capt. Henry W. Hunt of Dorchester, Mass.

From Dr. Shattuck, a photograph of the Tremont House, Boston.

From Mr. Shaw, a plan of the Back Bay, 1854, and some photographs taken in the South, 1864.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had been received from Hon. Jean Jules Jusserand accepting Honorary Membership in the Society, and from Henry Dwight Sedgwick, accepting Resident Membership.

William Wallace Fenn, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Henry Perceval Biggar, of Toronto, Canada, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. STOREY presented a tribute to the late Governor McCall:

Samuel W. McCall was many years a prominent, respected and popular man in Massachusetts. Born in Pennsylvania he came to New England for his college education and graduated at Dartmouth. Afterwards he made his home in this state and for many years lived in Winchester. His work, however, was in Boston where he was a practicing lawyer, and for some time the editor-in-chief of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, one of our leading newspapers. His ambitions, however, were not legal but political, and he soon made his way to the Massachusetts legislature, sitting in the House of Representatives in 1888, 1889 and 1892.

He was destined for a wider stage, and in 1888 as delegate from his district and in 1890 as a delegate at large he helped to represent Massachusetts in the National Convention of the Republican party. The next steps in his upward career were his election to Congress in 1893, and his repeated re-elections from the 53rd to the 62nd Congress, during which period of service he was for fourteen years on the Committee of Ways and Means.

During his last term in the House of Representatives he sought election as a Senator from Massachusetts, but was beaten by John W. Weeks who served for six years and then was defeated, but became Secretary of War under President Harding. McCall retired from the House and in 1916 was chosen Governor of Massachusetts, an office which he held

for three years. On the expiration of his last term he retired to private life, and except as a man whose counsels were valued because of his ability and experience, he held no other political office and took no further part in public affairs. The contest for the senatorship and the defeat of Mr. Weeks for re-election left behind them a root of bitterness from which sprang an antagonism that he could not overcome.

The source of Mr. McCall's influence in Massachusetts was his independence. He was not a strong partisan, and while always calling himself a Republican, did not always support the policies of his party. He was outspoken in debate, and his fellow-citizens became satisfied that he would do and say what he thought right, and would not be swayed by the fear of losing votes. The leaders of his party would at times no doubt have seen him lose his nomination with great satisfaction, but his constituents believed in him and against their strong support no opposition availed. He was a protectionist, or he would not have been allowed to remain on the Committee of Ways and Means; but he was moderate in his views, and he helped to restrain the excesses of the high tariff faction. He did not believe in our Philippine conquest, and by speech and influence in Congress rendered very material aid to its opponents. He did not fall under the influence of Theodore Roosevelt, but expressed his opinion of him clearly and openly, and his descriptive phrase "a glutton of the limelight" will not be forgotten. He was an eloquent speaker and had great influence on a legislature or a public audience — the influence of an able, sincere and brave man, who said what he thought clearly and without flinching.

He was a student of public affairs and had a firm grasp of political truth. His intended speech, published since his death, is an excellent specimen of his manner, for in it he discusses with great clearness, force and what seems common sense the vital questions of the hour. It has occurred to me that the best way of making you realize what he was is to quote some passages from this, for he was speaking on the questions which are now in our minds, and his manner of dealing with these will make a fresher impression of the man than anything taken from what he said on questions now settled.

Thus on our foreign policy he says:

We were almost inevitably drawn into the last great war, and there is more likelihood even that we shall be drawn into the next war, so that if we look at the question simply from the standpoint of our own interest we must decide for ourselves whether we have anything to gain by the liability to embark upon war. That question has so clear an answer that there is no room for argument.

Our war adventure of nineteen months imposed a burden upon the country which will continue for generations. It had other very large results besides the destruction of so many brave men. If important powers of Europe say to America, "Will you join with us in attempting to prevent war, in providing means for conciliation, for delay, for good offices, and for adjustment?" can there be any doubt what it would be for the interest of our own country to answer?

We seem to lack a practical comprehension of what war is. It seems to be taken for granted that a nation represents the last word in civilization. . . . As a matter of fact, war in its essence is a species of pagan worship which is pursued by the sacrifice of the youth of the race. Study the history of all wars and you will find that the boys who are offered up as victims — hundreds of millions of them, probably, from the beginning of civilization — have been thus sacrificed. . . .

The practical question before mankind today is to do away with offering up boys as human sacrifice. That is just what war means, and it is an indictment of the wisdom of all of the statesmen of the world to think that they cannot consent to get together and co-operate in an organization banded against war. To say that we cannot enter into such an association on account of our constitution is preposterous. We will still have absolute control of our own armies and navies. Do we abdicate any of our national authority by saying that we will co-operate with other nations to strike down the slave trade? Then why cannot we co-operate with other nations to strike down war, and agree with the rest of the world that before nations go to fighting they should first submit their claims to the most disinterested tribunals that can be secured and that they will at least delay a reasonable time for discussion and adjustment.

If that had been done in 1914 we should have had no war.

We think of taxes as a hardship, but as a passing affliction, because until the war we did not realize what excessive taxa-

tion means. Mr. McCall's words on this subject are illuminating.

I do not think we generally appreciate how profoundly taxation affects not merely the prosperity of a nation, but the character of its institutions. Exorbitant taxes have often lain at the foundation of the destruction of states and of civilization itself. . . . Governmental extravagance and a lack of intelligent finance have overthrown more than one mighty nation. You may see the hilltops of Italy studded with splendid ruins which add picturesqueness to the view, but are worth nothing for purposes even of taxation or of any other use. They were once palaces, but the impositions of government grew so steadily that the produce of industry was not enough to pay the taxes, and so industry was abandoned.

We are seeing the same thing today in England with the excessive tax rate upon incomes supplemented by the inheritance tax. The prosperity of all classes is stricken and those who have been called wealthy are not able to pay governmental charges out of income. Famous works of art are sold in order to get money to pay taxes. Buildings are not repaired and are falling into decay and the process need not go very far before England will become like Italy, a country of splendid ruins.

Probably Macaulay was thinking that invasion might transform England when he spoke of the traveler from New Zealand standing upon one of the broken arches of London bridge and sketching the ruins of St. Paul, and " when a solitary naked fisherman may wash his nets in a river that had borne ten thousand masts." But that result is more likely to be produced in England by taxation than by invasion.

He says what we think when he speaks of the " bonus."

Within a few months we have seen the interesting proposition brought up in Washington to pay a bonus to the able-bodied veterans of the late war as adjusted compensation. The proposition surely is not adjusted to the patriotism of the men who resent having such a valuation put upon their lives. It seems more likely that the adjustment was really made to the needs of impecunious statesmen who were willing to take some billions out of the national treasury and have it used as a campaign fund to preserve the country from the calamity of losing their statesmenlike services. No national wealth can survive the temper of such statesmen and we would soon come to a time when industry would be strangled by excessive taxes, when the incentives to enterprise and industry

would be done away with and when our payrolls would be clogged by the names of patriots employed to collect taxes or to enforce unnecessary or vicious laws.

I have quoted these passages because in them he speaks for himself so much better than I can speak for him, and we can judge what his contributions to the settlement of public questions have been during his long life. We read in his simple and direct speech something which reminds us of another man who came to Massachusetts like him from another state, who like him filled its highest office, and who now leads the nation. They are both examples of the truth too often forgotten by our would-be leaders that Americans "love a man who ain't afeard."

As an executive officer he was not as successful as he was in Congress. Either a certain natural indolence or the weight of years seemed to prevent prompt action. More than any other man he was responsible for the calling of the last Constitutional Convention. Many felt that it was incurring great and certain expense while it was taking great and very uncertain chances. It is yet too early to say whether the Convention helped or injured our frame of government. Up to date neither benefit nor injury is clear. In other walks of life he was not conspicuous though he wrote some good biographies and fine addresses. His home was in a legislative hall and his weapon was clear, sincere and often eloquent speech, his influence while he lived was exerted in behalf of good causes, and when he died the Commonwealth lost a citizen who had adorned her service.

THE PARKMAN CENTENARY IN CANADA.

Mr. KELLEN, a delegate from the Society to the Parkman celebration in Montreal, November 13, said that the programme was initiated and carried out under the auspices of McGill University, and included an exhibition of Parkmaniana, consisting of books, manuscripts, etc., in the University Library, and, during the evening, formal addresses interspersed with music in Windsor Hall. The delegation, all the members of which were in attendance, was made up of

the Hon. J. Jules Jusserand, French Ambassador at Washington, an honorary member of the Society, of Arthur Lord, First Vice-President, Prof. Bliss Perry, William V. Kellen and Charles L. Nichols, M.D., resident members, and James B. Wilbur and Prof. George M. Wrong, corresponding members.

The principal event of the celebration, in which Montreal showed the liveliest interest, was the meeting in Windsor Hall, presided over by Sir Arthur Currie, the distinguished Commander-in-Chief of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, and now Principal of McGill University. The hall was crowded with an audience representative of the English and French colonies in the city, which listened for three hours with rapt attention to the speakers of the evening. The music, sung by an excellent choir, consisted chiefly of songs popular among the settlers during the French regime. Monsieur Jusserand eloquently accomplished the difficult task of gracefully accepting the results of that great struggle whereby New France became a part of the British Empire, of acknowledging feelingly the great debt of France to Canada for her aid in the Great War, and, finally, passing to the subject of the evening, in his sympathetic and critical estimate of Parkman. The second principal speaker was our Prof. Bliss Perry, whose address was as polished as it was interesting in matter and treatment, discriminating in characterization, and unusual in delivery. The two remaining addresses of the evening were given by Aegidius Fauteux, the Librarian of St. Sulpice, and by Dr. Colby, former Professor of History at McGill, the former a fervid and the latter a sober estimate of Parkman as a man and a historian.

On the social side the treatment of the delegates by the committees in charge left nothing to be desired. A luncheon was tendered them midday at the St. James Club, which showed that the liquor traffic in the province of Quebec is wisely regulated, so far at least as the extension of Club hospitality is concerned. During the afternoon Lady Drummond gave a reception and tea in honor of Ambassador and Madame Jusserand.

Perhaps the most valuable and practical result of the Centenary Celebration will be the creation of the Parkman

Memorial Fund, sufficiently large to accomplish the two-fold object: first, of founding scholarships tenable at any university or at the Dominion Archives at Ottawa for the special study of Canadian history; or, second, to assist those desirous of publishing meritorious works on such history, which otherwise might not find a publisher.

Mr. MUNRO read a paper on

THE COUREURS DE BOIS.

The French discovered the St. Lawrence. They were the first to navigate it and to realize its value. It became the main portal through which they made their way into the red man's country. Here, among the lowlands that fringe the river from the Saguenay to Montreal the early French explorers and traders made their initial acquaintance with the North American Indian. But the St. Lawrence was merely the outlet of the Great Lakes and the French were shrewd enough to realize, almost from the time of their earliest settlement in Canada, that their interests demanded the control of these headwaters as well. It was for this reason that they endeavored to establish themselves at all the strategic points along the far-flung waterway from Lake Superior to the sea. At Cataraqui, where the St. Lawrence debouches from Lake Ontario, they established a fortified trading post in 1674; at Niagara and Detroit they entrenched themselves a few years later. And before 1690 they were firmly established at Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie. Thus, by the end of the century the French were in possession of the one great trade route which led directly to the hinterland.

The English colonies had no such advantage. Among them New York was the only one that possessed any direct water communication with the fur-bearing regions. The upper waters of the Hudson, and its tributary, the Mohawk, lay within striking distance of Lake Ontario. These rivers penetrated the country of the Iroquois and brought directly into English hands the trade of the Five Nations, such as it was. But the Iroquois were warriors rather than hunters. Their own territories had been denuded of beaver before the Eng-

lish were able to profit much from their contact with it, and as middlemen the Iroquois proved far inferior to the tribes within the French sphere of influence because they were so constantly at war with their neighbors. In the long contest for control of the Western fur trade the English colonies were seriously handicapped by this geographical disadvantage. They had no direct access to the sources of supply.

During the opening years of the eighteenth century the most lucrative source of the fur supply was the great region now covered by the states of Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa and Minnesota. Here, with its numberless small streams and lakes, was the heart of the beaver country. And beaver was the fur of furs. Whether for warmth, durability, attractiveness, or value there was none other to equal it. The pelts of other animals, including moose and buffalo hides, were also in demand; but in proportion to their value they were too bulky for transportation in canoes. The hey-dey of the buffalo trade came much later, with the development of the overland routes. So beaver became the mainstay of the trade and the dependence of Canada upon it was complete. More than half the inhabitants of the colony, directly or indirectly, drew their livelihood from it. Whenever the trade fell off the colony went into the throes of depression and in a few disastrous years it was brought to the verge of bankruptcy. Hence the French colonists on the St. Lawrence regarded their control of the beaver country as the very keystone of commercial and political policy. All else was subordinated to this.

The most active figure in the fur-trading system was the individual forest trader, the *coureur-de-bois*. He was the organizer and captain of redskin commerce, the liaison officer between the tribes of the West and the commercial companies which maintained their warehouses at Montreal. Without him the trading processes could not have been organized and set in motion. Usually a man of good birth, with some military training, and a fair education, the average *coureur-de-bois* was a commercial rover by choice; he was not an outcast from civilization. He became a forest trader because the life appealed to him. Hundreds of young gentlemen, many of noble birth, came from France to serve as

officers in the colonial garrisons, or to hold minor civil posts, or to become colonial seigneurs. Very few of them arrived with any intention of launching into the western fur trade, but most of them were not long in the Colony before they fell victims to the lure of it. "I cannot tell you," wrote one governor, "how attractive this life is to all our youth." It held out a gambler's chance of making a fortune with an extra dividend of adventure thrown in. The Frenchmen who came to the New World were mostly from Normandy, and there is a roving strain in the Norman blood. At any rate the fascination of a trip to the Western wilderness appealed so strongly to the young immigrant that the movement seemed at times to assume the proportions of a general exodus. Men left their civil posts, their farms and their families, to join by the hundreds this trek by water to the West. The trade drew off the best blood of the colony, the strongest and best-born among the younger men. It took its recruits from every section, from Lachine to the Saguenay. Official decrees and prohibitions, even the interdicts of the Church, availed very little in stemming the tide.

As early as 1660 the *coureurs-de-bois* formed a distinct class in the population of New France, but their numbers were still small. Their ranks grew steadily, however, and in 1680 the intendant estimated that they numbered more than eight hundred in all. As the entire population of the colony at this time was less than ten thousand, of whom not more than twenty-five hundred were full grown men of all ages, it would appear that one-third of all the adult males had been swept into the vortex of the wilderness trade. Nor was this the peak of exodus. Ten years later the number of wilderness tradesmen must have been appreciably larger, but how large it became we do not know, for no count was ever officially made. But the French maintained dozens of posts in the Western country, and if the testimony of Lahontan can be relied upon there were thirty or forty traders at every post.

According to the decrees and ordinances of the colonial government, no trader could leave the settled limits of the colony without a *congé* or license. And the number of these *congés* was ostensibly restricted by royal order to not more than twenty-five per annum. But many voyageurs went off

without licenses and remained in the wilderness for several years, trusting that their offence would be duly forgiven. The system of issuing licenses was also abused by the colonial officials and the traders alike. Licenses were sometimes surreptitiously issued by the governor to his own personal friends and no record kept. Even when properly issued, the licenses were transferable and partible. The holder of a license could sell half of it, or any other fraction of it, and in this way several traders operated under the same general permit. Ordinarily a license was limited to four canoes, but by partitions and evasions and subterfuges it was sometimes made to cover ten times as many. These permits became the subject of a lively speculation at Quebec and Montreal; they were bought and sold like shares on the stock exchange.

From the scattered evidence that is procurable there must have been a thousand or perhaps fifteen hundred Frenchmen roving the western beaver country or stationed at the various trading posts during the closing years of the seventeenth century. But the names of relatively few among them have come down to us. The leaders of this crusading host are of course well known, for they figure prominently in the annals of western exploration, and they have imprinted their names on the geography of the lake region. Perrot, the two Tontis, La Forêt, Lamotte-Cadillac, Greysolon Du Luth and his less famous brother, La Tourette, Morel de la Durantaye, La Porte de Louvigny, Boucher de la Perrière, Joliet, Le Sueur, Nicolet, Varennes, Le Gardeur, Moreau, Peré, Charles de Langlade, Massé, St. Lusson — these intrepid fellows need no introduction to students of frontier history. But what of the others, the hundreds of others, who made up the rank and file of the *coureurs-de-bois?* Very few of them receive even a stray mention in the records of the time. They were not chroniclers; they did not write about themselves; in the great majority of instances even their names are unknown. Nicholas Perrot, when he left Montreal for Green Bay in 1688, took one hundred and forty-three companions along with him. But who were they? No list of them ever went on the records. Occasionally the Jesuits gave one or two of these traders an incidental mention in the memoirs which they sent home to France — usually an unfavorable mention.

The colonial authorities, in transmitting the details of some interesting or important episode to the Ministry, sometimes found place for a few names in their dispatches. But that is all. Among the thousands or more Frenchmen who formed the body of the *coureurs-de-bois* it would be impossible, at the present time, to make an enumeration of more than forty or fifty by name.

Many of these forest-rangers made but a single trip to the West. Leaving Montreal one summer, they came back the next, having had enough of hardship and adventure. Others spent five, ten, even twenty years in the recesses of the mid-Continent, returning only at rare intervals to civilization and then only for a few weeks. There is no doubt that most of them loved the life and never gave it up save with reluctance. The majority of them were drawn into this half-savage life by the gambler's instinct, by the lounging freedom and easy morals of the Indian encampments, and by the never-ending novelty of it all. A few years of this bushranging were enough to keep most young Frenchmen from ever again being content under the trammels of civilized life. Many died at the various western posts, or were captured and killed by hostile Indians, or were drowned on their voyages; others came back to Quebec when their physical strength gave out; a few drifted home to France. Although the trade held out great hopes of financial profit, these hopes were not often realized. What the trader made on one trip he frequently lost on the next. The trade was a highly speculative enterprise for those immediately engaged in it, and few there were who came out of it with more capital than when they went in. Nicholas Perrot, for example, was well-to-do when he entered the trade; but he lost all that he put into it, although he had better fortune in some respects than most of his fellows. Greysolon Du Luth, the king of the voyageurs, was a rich man when he came to Montreal from France. But his worldly possessions, when he made his will, consisted of a small wardrobe, a world atlas, and a five-volume edition of Josephus. In announcing his death Governor Vaudreuil added a laconic eulogy of Du Luth: "He was a very honest man." In an age when so many of his fellow-traders were touched with the taint of crookedness, this was tribute enough.

The colony could ill afford to lose "a very honest man." Whether honest or otherwise there were very few who came out of the trade richer in anything but experience. Tonti, Cadillac, Nicolet, Tourette, La Porte, Durantaye — all of them made fortunes for a season or two, but not one of them died rich. The men who made most of the profits were the merchants at Montreal and Quebec who took none of the risks.

The methods used by the French in exploiting the fur trade were unique and they have been widely misunderstood. There is a common impression, drawn from the writings of Parkman and others, that most of the trade was carried on at the western trading posts — that goods were carried by the *coureurs-de-bois* to the west and cargoes of furs brought back. But this was not the case save in exceptional instances. The traders carried relatively little merchandise into the wilderness, and what they did take was mainly to support themselves during the journey. Their real business was to gather large bodies of Indians together and pilot them down the trade routes to Montreal in time for the summer fairs. The French trading posts at Detroit, Mackinaw, Green Bay and elsewhere were not storehouses for merchandise, and very little actual bartering went on at any of them. It was the idea of the French that the trade should come to the colony, not that the colony should go to the trade. The trading posts were merely places of refuge, where the French might spend the winter and in which furs might be temporarily stored in preparation for the journey down the lakes. It was the function of the trader to establish relations with the tribes, to win their confidence, and to organize the trade at its source. Accordingly, in the early spring of each year, the *coureurs-de-bois* rounded up the Indians with their stocks of furs from the winter's hunt.[1] From each of the minor posts

[1] Many of these western Indians did very little hunting themselves; they were middlemen who procured the pelts from other tribes further west and south. The Ottawas, for example, rendered great service to the French in this way. "Through these tribesmen," the Intendant Duchesneau wrote in 1681, "we obtain large quantities of beaver, for although they do not hunt and have but few fur-bearing animals in their own country, they go in search of fur to the most distant places and barter for it with our goods which they procure at Montreal."

these parties then proceeded to a designated rendezvous where they were combined into a great flotilla of canoes, sometimes hundreds of them. One of these marine caravans, in 1693, included more than 400 canoes, with about 200 Frenchmen and over 1000 Indians. This flotilla made the trip safely to Montreal and there unloaded furs to the estimated value of not far from a million *livres*. From the head of the lakes the French had alternate routes, one by way of Detroit, Niagara and Cataraqui, the other by way of the Ottawa. The former route was deemed much the better as it involved less overland *portaging;* but it was subject to interruption at times by Iroquois raids. There were a few occasions on which the Iroquois raiders cut both routes and in one dismal year (1688) not a single canoe-load of furs was able to get through from the West at all.

When one of these fur flotillas made its approach to Montreal there was a lively scrimmage among the local merchants for positions of vantage near the water's edge. A good location was much to be desired, for the Indian was apt to set his heart upon the first wares that met his eye. Rough booths were set up and in these the merchants displayed their merchandise, usually arraying the greater part of it on the ground in front. Enterprising publicans also set up their stands for the sale of brandy and did a roaring business while the fair lasted. There were gambling devices of all kinds and some of them seem to have been most successful in divorcing the Indian from his furs. When the largest flotilla of the summer came down the lakes the governor of the colony usually arrived from Quebec and opened the fair with a solemn pow-wow in which pledges of friendship were given and received. These fairs lasted for several days and sometimes an entire ship's cargo from France would be disposed of at one of them. Muskets and ammunition were the things most desired by the redskin, but the French were chary about giving firearms to men who might at any time become their enemies. Blankets and *étoffes* (coarse cloth) found a ready sale. Knives, hatchets, kettles, needles, necklaces, bracelets, little bells, combs, vermilion, and tin looking-glasses are listed by Radisson as the articles most favored in trade. Brandy was, of course, the best purchaser of all — best from the

trader's point of view. Several hogsheads of it were opened at every fair. It was poor stuff, most of it, and well diluted with water before it reached the Indian. Even so it was potent in its intoxicating influence upon these aborigines, whose gullets had not yet become habituated to the use of alcohol. The intensity of the Indian's craving for brandy is hard to understand. He would beg for it, steal it, give for it the very furs off his back. He drank to get drunk, and nothing less seemed ever to satisfy him. The Church in New France did its best to stop the exchange of brandy for furs at these colonial fairs and its long fight in this connection forms one of the bright pages in the annals of the trade; but the Church in spite of its unremitting efforts, never succeeded in Volsteadizing the colony. This was because the traders had the ear of the colonial authorities and convinced them that without brandy the Indians could not be kept within the French sphere of influence. They would divert their furs to Albany where they would get rum — and heresy into the bargain. Throughout the whole trading period this was the stock argument of publicans and sinners. It was either brandy and the true religion from the French at Montreal, or rum and Protestantism from the English at Albany. According to current opinion there was no third alternative. This brandy question, which for years disturbed colonial politics at Quebec, was ultimately referred to the King, who, on Colbert's advice, sought to have it settled by the colonists themselves. But nothing came of this attempt at self-determination and brandy continued to be one of the staples of the trade.[1]

The price which the Indian got for his furs at Montreal was sometimes fixed by royal ordinance but more often it was left to the interaction of demand and supply. It varied greatly from time to time. All the beaver pelts were shipped to France and their value in the French market was largely

[1] In compliance with the royal order a gathering of the "twenty leading men of the colony" was held at Quebec on October 10, 1678. All of those present stated their opinions, which were taken down one by one, and sent home to France. These opinions were not unanimous but disclosed a considerable preponderance of sentiment against prohibition. A full account of this gathering is given in the author's article on "The Brandy Parliament of 1678" in the *Canadian Historical Review*, June, 1921.

determined by the vicissitudes of fashion. So long as tall beaver or *castor* hats were popular among the upper classes of French society the demand for this fur remained brisk, but a temporary change to the practice of wearing low-crowned hats for a few years in the latter part of the seventeenth century broke the market to pieces and bankrupted the fur merchants of the colony. Under normal conditions an average beaver pelt was worth about five or six *livres* at Montreal, in other words, about a dollar.[1] New skins, rather curiously, were worth less than those which had been worn on the Indian's back for a while and had thus become softened. One large canoe, it was figured, could carry nearly half a ton of pelts, that is to say, a cargo valued at nearly 3000 *livres* ($600).

In any case the value of these furs was invariably less at Montreal than at Albany. This was true even in years when the Montreal market was at its best. And there were various good reasons for it. The goods cost more to buy in France than in England, and they also cost more to transport. Navigation to the St. Lawrence was open for only a few months in each year and the route was extremely dangerous. The risk of capture at sea, during the intermittent Anglo-French wars, was also considerable. In any event the French found it necessary to drive hard bargains in the Indian trade. At Albany, in the year 1689, it took two skins to buy a musket; at Montreal it took five. A single beaver pelt would buy a blanket at Albany, or eight pounds of powder; at Montreal from two to three skins were required for the same merchandise. The English gave the Indian six quarts of rum for one beaver pelt; the French had no fixed rate in brandy but rarely did they give him more than one quart, and that of inferior quality.

Under these circumstances it may be deemed a matter for surprise that the French should have obtained so much of the Western fur trade, the lion's share of it. The explanation, however, is simple enough. The French controlled the great trade routes. They had a score of outposts along these routes

[1] In 1681 the price of good beaver was fixed by the authorities at 4½ *livres* per pound. A scale of prices for different forms of merchandise was also established, but little attention was paid to these schedules.

and in the western country. They had Jesuit missionaries stationed among the tribes and although the Jesuit was first of all a soldier of the Cross, he was also a sentinel of the Crown. He did not overlook the material interests of his own people. Finally the French had their *coureurs-de-bois,* several hundred of them, as the organizers, promoters, and pilots of the trade. The governors and intendants of Canada knew very well that if the Albany traders ever got into direct and permanent touch with the tribesmen of the western country the day of French trading supremacy would be over. In fair competition the French could not have maintained their hold on these great fur regions for a single season. On a few occasions small bands of English traders made their way to the lakes. The Indians welcomed them cordially, grew enthusiastic over the bargains offered, and bade them come again. But the French were promptly on the spot and saw to it that they did not come again.

The era of French trading activity along the Great Lakes and in the Upper Mississippi region extended over a full century during which time they enjoyed an almost complete monopoly. The exploration of the fur country began a little before 1660; the trade grew with great rapidity during the last three decades of the seventeenth century (especially during the two administrations of Frontenac); it continued to hold its own until about 1730; thereafter it steadily declined. This decline was partly due to the slackening demand for furs in France, and partly to the almost continuous stress of warfare which used up so much of the French energies during the era preceding the fall of Quebec. It is rather difficult to make an estimate of the total volume of trade which found its outlet at Montreal and Quebec during these hundred years of French supremacy. It varied greatly in volume from time to time. The records of the fur exports from Canada to France are incomplete, and for some years they are altogether lacking. It would be a conservative statement, however, to say that the total exports of beaver during the years 1660–1760 must have exceeded twenty-five million pounds. Fully as much more was probably used in the colony or kept by the Indians themselves. As a beaver pelt averaged about two pounds in weight it seems probable that

not fewer than twenty-five to thirty million of these industrious little animals were slaughtered during the era of French activity in North America. In the face of this relentless persecution, the beaver gradually disappeared from the lake regions, receding farther west and south. The country was fairly well denuded by the time the English got hold of it.

As for the effects of the French trade and trading methods upon the Indians they were numerous and far reaching. The *coureurs-de-bois,* when they came into contact with the red man, soon transformed his outlook and changed his methods of life. They took him on long journeys, gave him an acquaintance with the vices of civilization, shattered his old notions of the world, and made him a different man. From the day when the trader went among the tribes, the evolution of the Indian seemed to stop. Neither his institutions, his religion, nor his folklore made any advance from that time on. The Jesuit brought him a religion which he could not understand. The trader supplied him with a musket which revolutionized his methods of hunting. The coming of pots and pans, knives and hatchets, upset his old-time domestic habits. It was not brandy alone that demoralized the tribes; the breakdown of the aboriginal economy was the inevitable outcome of contact with a new race of men who had come to exploit the land. For such meagre gain as the Indian got out of this contact he paid a heavy price.

As for the French, the traffic did not profit them much in the end. They looked upon the fur trade as the keystone of their economic prosperity, but its ultimate effects upon the colony were little short of disastrous. So much energy was thrown into this trade that there was very little left for the upbuilding of colonial agriculture and industry. Along the St. Lawrence the clearing and cultivating of the land proceeded at a snail's pace, for there were not enough laborers willing to put their hands to the axe and the plough. Nobody seemed ready to resign himself to the prosaic vocation of a husbandman; everybody wanted to be a huckster or a merchant. Despite the fact that very few out of many hundreds among the *coureurs-de-bois* ever earned any substantial profit out of the trade the colony was filled with rumors of fabulous gains. Stories of men who started without a single

sou and made thousands of *livres* out of a season's journey filtered through to the farthest seignories. The reckless way in which individual traders squandered their money when they came down to Montreal with the fur flotillas gave an air of plausibility to these tales of rapid money-making. So the trade drew off the best blood of the colony, the most capable, ambitious, and vigorous elements of the population. The interests of France in the New World would have been far better served, in the long run, if these men had devoted their lives to the tilling of the soil. As it was the colony found itself on several occasions compelled to import grain from France.

One vicious feature of the fur trade was the way in which it deadened the moral sense of the whole community. The *coureur-de-bois* learned to live like a savage and he did not always forget the art when he came back to the shores of the St. Lawrence. He brought back with him, among his own people, the polygamous conjugal standards of the wilderness. He had spent years in an environment of trickery and intrigue where the Golden Rule had no observance. From cheating the Indian it was not a long step to cheating his fellow Frenchmen and cheating the government; the western trader frequently indulged in both. During the long winters, at all the western posts, a great deal of gambling went on, and this had its baleful reactions upon the settled regions of the colony. The manners and morals of these traders, so many of whom were young *gentilshommes* of good family, permeated the whole social life at Quebec and Montreal, and greatly to its detriment. Even official circles succumbed to the *esprit d'affaires,* and much of the corruption which marked the closing years of the French regime in Canada may be traced to the lowering of moral standards which the fur trade inspired. Several of those who helped to loot the royal treasury at Quebec in the years preceding the Conquest were officials who had obtained at the western trading posts their first lessons in dishonesty. If half the charges and countercharges which flew across the water to Versailles each year were true there were few officials who did not have their hands soiled by some vicarious participation in the beaver trade.

Worst of all was the influence of the trade in causing the

French to over-expand their sphere of territorial jurisdiction. With a colonial population of only 50,000 they sought to acquire and hold the greater portion of a whole continent. They were forced to this vaunting ambition by the incessant clamors of traders and merchants, not by any imperialistic policy dictated from France. Time and again the royal authorities advised that the colony draw in its outposts and give more attention to the settled portion of its territories; at times, indeed, the king commanded it; but the royal orders often went unheeded on the Great Lakes. As the beaver country receded, the trader and the Jesuit felt bound to follow it. And wherever they went they planted a cross, raised the fleur-de-lis of France, chanted the *Vexilla Regis,* and took possession of the territory in the name of the Bourbon king.

Vexilla regis prodeunt,
Fulget crucis mysterium,
. . . . . .
Quos per crucis mysterium
Salvas, rege per saecula.[1]

It was thus that the French spread their posts and slender garrisons along the extended waterways from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Monongahela. This line was too sinuous and too slim; when the pressure of the English came it was bound to give way. The traders led their government into an enterprise which was far beyond its resources.

Historians have sometimes written of this attempt to hem the English between the Alleghenies and the sea as though it were the outcome of a well-matured plan, consciously embarked upon by the French authorities at Quebec, and warmly endorsed by the royal government at home. It was nothing of the sort. The expansion of French interests in these western regions, like that of the English in India during the same period, received very little encouragement or assistance from

[1] This hymn of the Mediaeval Church, which contains nine stanzas, was written toward the end of the sixth century by Venantius Fortunatus, an Italian churchman who was driven from Ravenna by the great invasion of the Lombards and found refuge at Tours where he became a friend of Saint Gregory. He was made bishop of Poictiers and died about the year 609.

officialdom. The trader and the missionary went ahead, and the government followed because there was nothing else to do. These traders and merchants and missionaries, when they exerted their influence together, could bend the government of New France to their will, and they did it.

The gains which New France drew from the operations of the *coureurs-de-bois* were evanescent, but they must not be altogether despised on that account. The trade enabled exploration to pay its way. It made the colony's annual deficits smaller than they would otherwise have been. It furnished the military forces with a hardy, courageous body of men, skilled in the arts of forest warfare and able to give great assistance in carrying vengeance to the very doors of the king's enemies. In the wars against the Iroquois and the English these *coureurs-de-bois* were at the front of every fight. It was a western trader, Charles de Langlade, who planned the ambuscade for Braddock on the Monongahela. A large company of these *coureurs-de-bois* formed the advance guard of Montcalm's forces when he won at Ticonderoga. And they were with him again, when he lost, on the Plains of Abraham. Their knowledge of routes, together with their skill in handling Indian canoemen and carriers, contributed greatly to the mobility which the French-Canadian expeditions displayed during the half century of conflict. They were the hardest fighters in these long campaigns. This vast expanse of beaver country was very dear to the hearts of these intrepid men and it was not without a hard struggle that they finally gave it into alien hands.

Dr. SHATTUCK spoke on

THE CENTENARY OF ROUND HILL SCHOOL

A recent article in the daily press noting the centenary of the birth of Nathaniel T. Allen, the founder of the Allen School in Newton, brings to mind a school, also started in 1823, which existed only ten years, and the existence of which has almost passed out of memory. I venture to recall it for two reasons: First, because it was a great school far ahead of its time; second, because although it seemed to die without

issue, it really left seed which, after many years, took deep root and bore fruit abundantly.

I can be more brief inasmuch as John Spencer Bassett in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society,* for 1917, gives a detailed account of the School, thus preserving for all time a significant story.

In 1822 George Bancroft and Joseph G. Cogswell, after some years spent in Europe in study and travel, found themselves connected with Harvard, both dissatisfied alike with their work and prospects. Together they planned a high-grade school for boys, aiming to combine better intellectual training than was given in the then schools, with stress on physical training, which was not given at all. Thus they selected Round Hill, Northampton, and there opened Round Hill School in October 1823, with fifteen boarders and ten day pupils. The tuition fee for boarders was three hundred dollars a year, practically without extras, a large sum in those days, really much larger than the fees of most leading schools today similar in aim, which are enabled by the affection and generosity of alumni and friends to put the fees at distinctly less than cost. Six weeks' vacation in two three-week periods can be contrasted with about seventeen weeks now common. Growth was steady and rapid. In 1826 there were 135 pupils. Spanish, French, German, and Italian were taught by natives of those countries.

Analyzing the 1831 list of past and present pupils, I find that all the original States, except New Jersey, were represented. Massachusetts leads with 99; next comes New York with 46, then follow South Carolina 34, Maryland 32, Georgia 18, Mississippi 4, Louisiana, Virginia, North Carolina 3 each, Ohio 2, Tennessee and Michigan one each. I also note that Mexico sent 5, the West Indies 4, Canada 3, Brazil 2, and that 2 are classed as trans-Atlantic. This list covers a period of only eight years. Is there now any school, college, or even university in the country with anything like such a drainage area, in spite of the present facilities for travel?

The relatively large number from the Southern States, notably South Carolina and Georgia, suggests the paucity or absence of good schools in that part of the country at the time. Leading southern families were apt to have resident

tutors for their young people, often northerners and recent college graduates.

Bancroft probably had little understanding of or sympathy with boys, with whom he was, therefore, unpopular. It may be noted that in the collection of photographs of Round Hillers, made and distributed to survivors by John M. Forbes in 1891, there is a picture of Dr. Cogswell but none of Dr. Bancroft. Cogswell, on the other hand, was much, and rightly, beloved, and shared in the exercises, excursions and simple sports of the boys. In 1864 a dinner was given Dr. Cogswell at the Parker House by old Round Hillers. I have a copy of the menu, thanks to Mr. Robert G. Shaw, with the names of those present, twenty in number, with Dr. Cogswell, Professors Benjamin Pierce and Beck, and George S. Hillard, at one time teachers in the School, as guests. I believe there is also copy of this menu in the collections of our Society.

In the late twenties the work became irksome to Bancroft, whose ambitions and interest sought other paths, and in 1831 Dr. Cogswell became sole owner and head of the enterprise. In spite of the sale of stock to interested friends, who expected and got no money return, expenses could not be met, and in the spring of 1834 Dr. Cogswell found himself forced to close the School after a life of less than eleven years. Stockholders turned in their shares to Cogswell who assumed all debts. To meet these some superfluous land was sold, but the property remained a burden on him until 1848, when it was sold at a sacrifice to the Round Hill Water Cure Retreat Company. The site and some of the buildings are now occupied by the Clark School for the Deaf.

The next few years Dr. Cogswell passed in teaching in the South; refused permanent collegiate appointments, and returned to New York where he was tutor in the family of Mr. Samuel Ward who married Emily, daughter of William B. Astor. Thus Dr. Cogswell became the Librarian of the Astor Library, holding this position until 1861, then returning to Cambridge where he died in 1871.

Two main causes can be assigned for the failure. First, it seems doubtful whether an unendowed school offering such advantages as did Round Hill could have been made self-supporting at that time, unless, possibly, Dr. Cogswell had

been as good a business man as he was schoolmaster. There were bad debts. These were outstanding especially in the South, as is intimated by Howe in his *Life of Bancroft*.

The second and probably more compelling reason was the falling off in the number of boys in the later years. A Round Hiller was fitted to pass the freshman entrance requirements at Harvard, for instance, while still too young for college life. My father entered junior, graduating in 1831 at the age of eighteen, and in a letter to his father states that classmates of his were fitted to enter the senior class at Yale. At both Harvard and Yale those entering in advanced standing, unless they transferred from another college, were required to pay the tuition fees of the previous year or years. Bancroft's protest to Yale on this point availed not. Whether Harvard relaxed its rule Bassett was unable to ascertain. That this was a serious handicap is plain. In fact, Round Hill was modelled, in a measure, on the German gymnasium; was more than simply a preparatory school for the colleges, the work of which it overlapped. Other schools sprang up, more willing to adapt themselves to college domination.

Now I crave your patience while I tell the sequel of the above story, perhaps not less interesting than the story itself.

In 1834 the Round Hill School closed its doors. It lingered in the affection of many of its pupils even throughout their lives; but for all practical purposes it seemed to die and to be buried in a grave without mark or monument. I repeat it *seemed* to die. Rather it fell asleep for twenty years or so — except in so far as its example may have insensibly influenced education — until my father had to face the education of his own boys. He saw no school which offered advantages seeming to him comparable to those which he had himself enjoyed. His country place, two miles from Concord, New Hampshire, comprising a large dwelling house, a grist and saw mill, farmhouse and outbuildings with, I think, about forty acres of land, no longer fully met the family requirements, and he turned the estate over to the newly formed corporation of St. Paul's School which opened in 1856 with three pupils, of whom my brother and I were two. The first Headmaster, the Reverend Henry A. Coit, then in his mid-twenties, proved ideal, and in the nearly forty years of his

rectorship the School grew in influence and numbers. Today it has more than four hundred pupils with fifty teachers, and seems as assured of permanency as does any human institution. Religious and moral training loomed large in the foundation. It was, and is, under the wing of the Episcopal Church as are many other followers in New England — St. Mark's, Groton, Pomfret, St. George's and the Kent Schools, for instance. I think it not far from the truth that the success of St. Paul's suggested to Mr. Burnett the foundation of St. Mark's, chronologically second only to St. Paul's. Other schools there are, not classed as church schools, younger than St. Paul's, of which I am not unmindful, though I do not mention them. I think I have said enough to emphasize the fact that while Round Hill School seemed a failure she was really a prolific mother.[1]

Mr. Norcross read the following letter from William Lloyd Garrison to Samuel E. Sewall, written three days after the "Garrison Mob" in Boston and from the house of his father-in-law, George Benson. He also contributes the letter of George Thompson, both from his collection.

William Lloyd Garrison to Samuel E. Sewall.

Brooklyn, [Conn.], Oct. 24, 1835.

My early, kind and faithful friend: — I have just written to my partner, Mr. Knapp,[2] a hasty account of my exit from the jail in Leverett st. and arrival in this village, under the roof of my venerable father-in-law.[3] He may communicate it to you and to others. Suffice it to say, that all is well with me, both in body and in mind, except that I am extremely anxious to learn what has transpired since I left. My obligations to you for your manifold kindnesses exceed, I fear, human ability to repay; but God, in whose cause you have acted, will bless you and yours abundantly. Our "recompense of reward," if not found upon the earth, will be obtained in heaven, provided we are actuated by that divine charity of which the apostle speaks, and without which we are as tinkling brass. I speak the express language of my soul when I

[1] On the Round Hill School see *Letters and Recollections of John Murray Forbes*, 1. 43; Lesley, *Memoir of Mrs. A. J. Lyman*, 190.

[2] Isaac Knapp (1804–1843).

[3] George Benson (1752–1836).

say, that I would rather have the peril and outrage through which I have passed, than such a reception as Lafayette received, comparing the motives and objects of those who engaged in the general excitement. Give me brickbats in the cause of God, to wedges of gold in the cause of sin.

I write to you, not only to render thanks on the part of Mrs. G. and myself, but to ask your advice, particularly — as well as that of other friends generally — as to the course it will be just and dutiful for me to pursue. Probably you have all had frequent consultations together, and have come to some definite conclusions. It seems to me that we ought to resolve that the *Liberator,* despite all opposition, shall continue to be printed — and printed, too, in Boston. Whether it is necessary for me to abide in the city, is a question of lawful expediency. Should I remain here, I shall unquestionably be able to write much more copiously and promptly for the paper that I can in Boston, with the cares of a household upon me, and with almost ceaseless interruptions. Besides, the expense of boarding here will not be half so great as that of housekeeping in Boston. However, I am willing to take the advice of my friends, and desire that it may be given without reserve.

As to our dear brother Thompson,[1] I am feverish to learn how he is now situated, what are his views and feelings, and what is to be done publicly, respecting his case. How thankful am I that the mob seized me, and that he was safe with his family! Will it not be dangerous for him to appear in the streets of Boston, even in broad daylight, at present? Ask him to communicate with me directly.

To-night, I expect to hear some tidings from Utica. Perhaps a worse affair has happened than any one anticipates.

If you can get time, pray write to me on Monday. Every item of intelligence will be truly acceptable. Let me know how the Mayor and Aldermen are disposed to act. Have any of the rioters been arrested? Would it not be well to suggest, through the medium of the *Daily Advertiser,* the propriety of calling a public meeting at Faneuil Hall, to denounce the transaction of the present week, and to protect citizens in the right of free discussion? Or is ours, indeed, a city of mobocrats and tyrants?

I hope the friends will countenance, advise and assist Mr. Knapp, for he has now a heavy load of care and responsibility resting upon him. If the presence of Henry[2] is needed, he will return as soon as he is apprised of the fact.

[1] George Thompson (1804–1878).
[2] Henry Benson (1814–1837).

Freighting this hasty scrawl with grateful and affectionate remembrances to all my kind friends, and renewing the acknowledgments of my numerous obligations to you, I remain, as hitherto, the undaunted advocate of the perishing slave, and Your steadfast friend and adviser, WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

FROM GEORGE THOMPSON.

SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS,
Monday Evening, February, 17/51.

MY DEAR SIR, On my arrival here I found your favor of the 14th. addressed to me *or* W. L. G. and hasten to relieve your mind by saying that I shall follow implicitly the instructions contained in your and Mrs. Foster's letters, and do my best to carry out the arrangements which have been made for me.

I write this under peculiar circumstances. The night before last, effigies of John Bull and myself were suspended from the trees in the square of this City, and a very inflammatory placard posted throughout the streets. This morning the *Springfield Republican* contained an Article of an exciting quality, and the consequence is, that at this moment, (8 P.M.) the City is in a state of great commotion. The Hotel is surrounded by Irishmen, and other rowdies — a bonfire blazes in front of my window — the Select Men, and the constabulary are on the *qui vive,* the air is rent with yells, the Hall in which I was to have spoken has been refused. My room is filled with citizens, (the friends of free discussion), and Senators, Divines and others, who have come various distances to attend the meeting. Every moment brings me reports from the enemies' camp, and Edmund Quincy, who is here, and went out to see the sight, has been mistaken for me, and escorted home by the police.

I am just informed that another Hall has been procured and that we are to make the experiment of holding a meeting to-morrow morning at ½ past nine. Garrison, I am sorry to say, is for the present laid aside by sickness; but will come to me at Union Village on the 21st. Wendell Phillips is on hand; Anne and Lucia Weston also are here on their way to N. Y. City. Boston reporters are sending telegraphic dispatches, and all is, I assure you, very lively. Drums are beating and squibs and crackers are exploding. All is going on well. The leaven is working, and the involuntary silence of to-night will do more for the good cause than any thing I could say.

I will try and send you a line again to-morrow. That is, if his Majesty the mob permits. Yours Most truly,

GEO. THOMPSON.

MEMOIR

OF

EDWARD STANWOOD

BY CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON

Although Edward Stanwood was born in Maine and was a life long champion of its shores and people he was wholly the product of Essex County in Massachusetts. To Gloucester in this county about the year 1652 came Philip Stainwood, who bought a house and land two years later and at once began a creditable civic and military career. He wrote for his day as clear a hand as did his descendant of this Society.

Philip's great-great-grandson, Captain Isaac Stanwood, lived in Ipswich. Among his children were Deacon Isaac (1783–1867), whose manly, handsome face looks out from between the pages of the printed family history; Jacob, a wool merchant of Augusta, Maine, and Hannah, the mother of Mary Abigail Dodge, known in later years as Gail Hamilton, the biographer of Mr. Blaine. Deacon Isaac was the grandfather of Edward Stanwood; Jacob was the grandfather of Walker, Emmons, and James, sons of the Hon. James Gillespie Blaine.

Into this circle which was in the making came Edward, the son of Daniel Caldwell and Mary Augusta (Webster) Stanwood, born September 16, 1841, in a house on the east side of the Kennebec at Augusta. The father was a bookseller, with a fine literary sense and an eager love of good literature. He was the leader in musical matters in Augusta, a major in the militia, city clerk, and a fellow member of the legislature with the uncle of Chief Justice Fuller. Of these days Mr. Justice Fuller wrote in 1890: "I have

MHS

Edward Stanwood

heard your father, my uncle Daniel, Joe Eveleth, and James Holcomb (I think) sing glees, &c., a hundred times with my mother accompanying them on the piano." The subject of this sketch used to tell how his father, a genial, lovable man, fond of good stories, but stern and strict in all things relating to the statutes of the Lord, used to cut the New York *Observer* in two on Sunday morning; the "secular department" — most inoffensive reading — was carefully laid away, not to be read until Monday — when no one cared for it!

The first event that had come down vividly in the boy's memory was the presence of President Polk in Augusta on Saturday July 3, 1847. As the procession passed he stood on the curb, perhaps with a neighboring boy, Joe Manley, whom he very early stimulated to activity in the school room by a pin. Manley afterward rose to state fame as a politician. To this foreshadowing of Mr. Stanwood's permanent interests might be added his early training in the Bible. His Sunday school lessons at this time consisted almost entirely of memorizing the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. He remembered all his life the chapters of the Bible and the poems which he committed to memory in these school days.

These were the years when geography, which the youthful Edward loved, was recited in song as the teacher pointed to rivers and cities on a wall map. At one recitation the boy raised his hand and said that the teacher had made a mistake. The teacher brought the pointer round like a scythe and hit him over the ear, raising a red welt. The next day the teacher apologized before the class.

In the high school which he entered at the age of eleven he laid the foundations of Latin and Greek grammar, which made him a master in these subjects through life. He once said: "The greatest usefulness of the study of ancient languages is the acquisition of accuracy," and accurate he was to the end. He never forgot nor ceased to appreciate his teachers, and it was to one of them — Frederic A. Deane — whom he aided in making out the scholars' weekly reports, that he owed the gift of Milton's Poems from which he "learned to drink deep at the well of English undefiled."

While he was attending the high school, Mr. Blaine, then a teacher in the South, visited Mrs. Blaine's aunt Sally, and Edward was invited to stand between his knees to be quizzed in Latin. His association with the Blaines continued throughout his career.

In college he exhibited some of his father's genial traits, knowing all his own class and every member of the three classes above and the three below him. Here he first met the Hon. Thomas B. Reed, whose sharp tongue stirred him to anger but never clouded the close friendship of a life time. The college was a hotbed of politics, and the tastes of Edward, the college student, were either formed or greatly intensified while future senators, as well as the sons of living senators, were discussing the great questions of the day. He did not join the dominant Republican group but followed his father into the camp of the Douglas Democrats, becoming secretary of the Douglas Club at Bowdoin.

The door to journalism opened for him at the age of sixteen when, on the first Monday in January, 1858, he began to report the proceedings of the Maine House of Representatives for the *Age,* an Augusta weekly. From his reporter's desk he looked into the faces of Eugene Hale, Neal Dow and other budding statesmen during the winters of 1858, '59 and '60. During these years he wrote for two Democratic newspapers, one in Lewiston, the other in Kingfield, Maine. From 1862 until he left Augusta he reported the doings of the senate for the *Kennebec Journal,* meanwhile acting as unofficial coach to inexperienced presiding officers from day to day. The youthful reporter stored his memory with anecdotes of the Maine political leaders of this period, and in old age he loved to sit by the fire, recounting the incidents of these years.

As Edward's entire expenses for the four years at Bowdoin College — exclusive of clothing — did not reach $500, the $100 a session paid to a reporter materially lightened the cost of his college course. This work no doubt reduced his scholarship rank, but the friendships which he formed lasted until he passed away. He graduated in 1861. Why he never essayed to enter politics is difficult to explain, for his

formative years were all passed in the best school of statesmanship. Perhaps he was too shy to speak.

When asked whether he ever regretted his removal to Boston he replied: "Not really, although at one time I would have given all my old boots to go to Congress; and in Maine with Mr. Blaine's help I probably could have gone."

Nevertheless his association with Mr. Blaine gave him opportunities to be much in a political atmosphere. He spent several weeks in Washington as secretary to Mr. Blaine during the winter of 1863–64, rooming and sleeping with the new Congressman. He and Mr. Blaine sat with Mr. Lincoln for half an hour, an experience which he never forgot. When Thaddeus Stevens's bill to make speculation in gold a crime had made a dollar worth thirty five cents, Mr. Blaine by a splendid effort induced the House to accept his position. Mr. Stanwood was present and was deeply impressed.

His college course did not wholly satisfy himself but his aims were possibly too high. He soon became a reporter on the *Kennebec Journal,* thereby determining his career, but disappointing his father who hoped that he, the scholar of the family, would enter the ministry. Meanwhile he was flying his literary kite in many directions, having as early as 1859 tried his hand at letters from Augusta to the Boston *Atlas and Bee,* and also in 1860 to the Boston *Courier.* He had also learned to set type and to telegraph.

War news was eagerly sought and Mr. Stanwood, with no money in his pocket, planned to start an afternoon paper. The idea attracted the *Journal* owners and they offered to take him on as assistant editor in charge of the new afternoon paper. The sheet had a short career but he kept his foothold. Then his father lost his business and died soon after, in January, 1863, leaving a widow and eight children to be supported by the youthful editor, only a year and a half out of college. He used to recall a week in which he lived on no other food than hasty pudding — boiled Indian meal. But he was untiringly active in church singing, in helping at political conventions, and in his work as a Royal Arch Mason, a Knight Templar, and as the

first Worshipful Master of his lodge, all of which activities, he abandoned in later years. He was also industrious in his newspaper work, setting type and writing editorials.

Recommended by John McArthur he soon began under the name "Signature" to write for the Boston *Advertiser,* then an unenterprising but respectable paper, often referred to as like unto the poor man's plaster — good for a weak back. In August, 1867, Charles F. Dunbar, who held a two thirds interest in the *Advertiser,* wrote to offer Mr. Stanwood a place on the staff, made vacant by the resignation of George A. Marden, who had purchased a newspaper in Lowell and was to become there a conspicuous success. His salary was at first $25 a week, and he continued to serve the paper until Thanksgiving week, 1883, a period of sixteen years. Other positions, however, sought him, some very tempting as he was thinking of marriage. Gail Hamilton wrote in July: "That you are poor or that marriage must be long deferred seems to me no sort of obstacle." A position in Minneapolis he allowed to pass by. Then Murat Halstead of the Cincinnati *Commercial* sent out a feeler, asking him to consider an offer if his "views were not too extravagant."

In 1874 Mr. Blaine wrote: "Dear Ed., — You have had or will have proposals made to you to take charge of the Bangor *Whig.* Be very cautious how you move in that direction. There is quite a storm brewing there . . . I deem it the part of friendship to give you this word of caution." He had had some thought of buying a half interest in the paper with Mr. Blaine's backing.

Of this period Mr. Stanwood writes: "When I went to the *Advertiser* it was located in narrow quarters at No. 10 State Street, but a building which was then in process of erection on Court Street, opposite City Hall Avenue, was ready for occupation on Thanksgiving of that year, November, 1867. The entire editorial work was done in a single room, not large, although a little coop was boarded off in one corner for the editor-in-chief." By 1916 every person there employed had died, leaving Mr. Stanwood the sole survivor.

He prepared a column of "In General," beginning usually

with a joke. For example, on the morning of January 1, 1868, Roxbury retired from Norfolk County to join Boston and, as he put it, "became Suffolkated." He worked from eight in the morning till ten at night. Mr. Dunbar never complimented any of the staff, yet once so far forgot himself as to say that one of Mr. Stanwood's "leaders" was "good." These were the days when John T. Morse, Jr. was writing up lyceum lectures as practice for his future delightful biographies, and Henry A. Clapp was satisfying his fever for journalism and preparing to become a dramatic critic. James Redpath too was there, developing the modern "interview," in which the reporter now asks the candidate what he had for breakfast and whether he is happily married.

Those also were the days when General Butler grew to power, culminating in his election as governor while Mr. Stanwood was editor in 1882–83. So outspoken was the *Advertiser's* editorial page that the General, so his private secretary afterward confessed, employed a detective to look up the editor's private life and character with a view to a counter-attack.

On Saturday afternoons he usually went to Roxbury to visit relatives. It was their custom to attend Central Church on Sunday and he now and then accompanied them. On a certain occasion a social function took place at the church but they did not go. He, finding himself there, alone and unknown, gave his name to the minister, Rev. John E. Todd, by whom he was introduced to a young lady. Her father was the virtual founder of the Associated Press as we know it today. This was Miss Eliza Maxwell Topliff, and to her he soon became engaged. This was in 1869. The marriage took place November 16, 1870, and he brought his bride to room at the corner of Hancock and Derne Streets, meals being supplied at Mrs. Cook's, diagonally across the street. It was, he used to say, "the best boarding house I have ever known." Honor to whom honor is due. At this time he formed a friendship with George Babbitt which lasted all his life. Mr. Babbitt was then on the *Post* but later became better known through his connection with the *Herald*.

Meanwhile great changes were transforming the *Advertiser*. Mr. Delano A. Goddard then editor of the Worcester *Spy*

became joint editor of the *Advertiser*. In a few months a group of the protectionist business men bought Mr. Dunbar's third interest in the paper and part of Mr. Peleg W. Chandler's interest. Mr. Stanwood then tells what happened:

> While this was going on — of course I knew nothing about it until it was concluded — I decided that I needed a larger salary than I was receiving, and one day I went to Mr. Edwin F. Waters, owner of one-third of the paper, with my request. He met me with "Why, Mr. Stanwood, I have been wondering if we had not better let you go. You see we are making a change in the *Advertiser* and shall hereafter have to discuss the tariff, and you know nothing about that." "No," I replied, "I don't, but I will." Mr. Goddard was very indignant at Mr. Waters's treatment of me, and reassured me on the subject of being sacked. Mr. Waters gave me my increase, and I began studying tariff matters. In six months from that time I was writing everything that the *Advertiser* published on the question.

During these years Mr. Stanwood had ventured into two fields that did not long detain him. In the back of a book of records of "The Williams Fraternity," a social library incorporated at Augusta in 1864 with himself as clerk, are two attempts at verse and a political diary. On page 20 (in 1868) he records: "This book is a very good example or indicator of my character. . . . Application and endurance are not virtues possessed by myself. Could I do much worth remembering if I had both those qualities? Hardly I suppose. . . . I am enjoying my situation on the Boston *Daily Advertiser* very much. . . . I am sure that my capacity for work has grown greater."

This capacity for work is reflected in every library catalogue, for during these years, from the time of his marriage in 1870, to the end of his connection with the *Advertiser* as editor in 1882–83, he had translated a book from the French of George Sand, had written *Boston Illustrated* (1872–3–4), a history of the Hoosac Tunnel which was highly commended, articles on the coinage acts for the *Bankers' Magazine,* and a chapter for the *Memorial History of Boston* on the topography and land marks of the city.

His children, and later their friends as well, claimed his

frequent attention. Humorous letters when they were away, games and walks when they were at home, were a part of his daily life. Mrs. Burke, Mr. Moorfield Storey's daughter, wrote in 1923:

> It seemed to me then as it does now that he spent a great deal of time in giving pleasure to you and your friends. He was always taking us to the theatre or to see something. Yours was the house where we went on Fourth of July to see the fire-works. I look back on those days with much pleasure. Brookline was very nice in the days when we used to spin tops on your drive-way.

It was at this time that Mr. Stanwood began to omit all endings to intimate letters. Later he dropped the salutation. In due time he welcomed the typewriter and used it for rapid composition. When he consigned family letters to the typewriter they not only lacked conventional beginnings and endings, but often spacing and orthodox spelling went by the board. He also was devoted to the old fashioned high bicycle at an early period of its use.

In 1872 he had moved from Hancock to Mt. Vernon Street, and in 1875 to the corner of Francis and Toxteth Streets in Brookline. The final move was to High Street in 1880, where the new house with red tiles above and carved dragons on the piazza delighted Mr. Luce the architect and embarrassed the owner, who was known to commuters as the man whose house was covered " with sunflowers and devils." The interior decorations were by Thomas W. Dewing, now becoming famous for his portraits.

During the early summers of his married life he sent his family to Petersham, walking the nine miles from Athol on Saturday afternoon, and back to Athol on Monday morning. To his two-year old daughter he wrote in 1875: " Next Saturday you must ask mamma to look along the road about one o'clock when you ought to be taking your nap, and perhaps she will see old parps walking up to the house."

After he went to the *Youth's Companion* all his summers were spent at Squirrel Island, near Boothbay Harbor in Maine. Here, in a spacious house overlooking the water and Southport, he wrote and rested. Senator Frye and Congress-

man Dingley drew to the Island men of national reputation, and so his summer recreations were often with those who were making political history in Washington. In his motor boat he explored the shores and coves between Pemaquid and Bath, one hand on the steering wheel and the other nursing his pipe. During these days of hard work he was making friends, such as Robert Littell, son of the founder of the *Living Age,* and Lieutenant W. S. Schley the future admiral.

Before he went from the *Advertiser* to the *Youth's Companion* Mr. Stanwood was accustomed to write or rewrite articles for Daniel S. Ford, owner of the latter paper. Mr. Ford had taken a fancy to his new aide, although his shrewd but critical mind did not show his approval very frankly. Mr. Stanwood succeeded Mr. Goddard as editor of the *Advertiser* in January, 1882, with two assistants, Carl Ernst and Walter Allen, the former known to most of us as the son in law of Mayor Hart, the latter as the father of our "Hercules" — the ex-Attorney General. Changes in ownership soon made the editorship unbearable. Too many owners made too many critics. Finally a demand from George O. Shattuck that Mr. Ernst be dropped brought on a crisis, and Mr. Stanwood retired, to associate himself a little later (January, 1884) with the *Youth's Companion.*

One day, just before he went to the *Companion,* a plan to write a history of presidential elections occurred to him; he at once put on his hat and went to ask Mr. Osgood to publish it. The whole affair was settled in twenty minutes. Much of the value of the work (enlarged in 1898 and in 1912 as the *History of the Presidency*) came from tables made after a long and dreary search through dusty bundles of southern newspapers in the basement of the Harvard College Library. The work was kept up to date. Of a later edition he records an incident which can be referred to here only in part. He says:

> It was important that I should know the truth about the breach of relations between President Taft and Roosevelt, which I thought would explain much in the character of the campaign which was obscure. Accordingly I wrote to Mr. Taft, who was then a Professor at Yale, and asked him if he would let me into the secret. He

replied that he would if I would go to New Haven to see him. He appointed a time and I went. He received me in his study at his home and we sat there together, no other person being present for at least three hours. He brought out two large packages, the one containing Roosevelt's original letters to him, covering a time before either of them were strictly in the government and continuing until the November before the election of 1912. The other package contained copies of all his letters to Roosevelt. He read them to me alternately and chronologically, and occasionally interrupted the reading with most interesting and often humorous comments. In particular he laid stress on the correspondence relating to the selection of his cabinet. . . . The correspondence between the two men continued in an intimate and friendly tone until November, 1911. The last letter was a pleasant and personal letter from Roosevelt. In two months thereafter Roosevelt was attacking Taft with virulence on the stump. When he had finished reading I said, " But, Mr. President, you haven't told me where and when the breach took place." " There never was any breach," he replied. I had to be content with that, and I was forbidden to make any reference to what I had heard in print. But the information I had received enabled me to shape the chapter I was writing in such a way as to avoid error. The other interesting matter was that when I had written the chapter I asked Mr. Taft if he would read it over and suggest any passages where I had erred. He agreed to and did so — in fact sent me a complimentary letter which contained no criticisms.

Of Mr. Stanwood's *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century,* published in 1903 he himself wrote:

I was about four years in finishing it, but I was well satisfied with the result. It would be impossible for any one to write a history of so controversial a character without having strong opinions upon it, formed either before starting on the work or formed during the preparation of it. I was a convinced protectionist; but I resolved, and adhered to the resolution to present all the facts, and all the arguments that had been advanced during more than a century of discussion, with perfect fairness. I would not and did not conceal my own opinions, but I did present all the elements that would enable any other person to form his opinion, unbiased by any unfairness on my part in presenting the facts. In that I am sure I succeeded.

It may be well to refer here to the *Life* of Mr. Blaine, because it is really a part of the political period he dwelt upon in so much of his work. It appeared in 1905, and was considered by most readers to be a very difficult undertaking carried to completion with considerable success. Of the book he once wrote:

> I think that the opposition of the Blaine children to any biography was to some extent influenced by their cordial dislike and disapproval of Gail Hamilton's monumental but unsatisfactory *Life*. I had ample material — her detailed biography, my own recollections and an abundance of matter in the Congressional reports and the newspapers. In order to present something fresh from his early, pre-public life, I made a visit to Augusta and studied Mr. Blaine's work on the *Kennebec Journal*, in the middle fifties of the last century, when he first ceased to be a school teacher and became an editor. While I was there I made a call on Harriet Beale [Blaine's daughter], who happened to be staying in Augusta, and she gave me the only help I asked or received from any member of the family. She also gave me the very good photograph of her father which is reproduced as a frontispiece of the biography. It was not an easy book to write, for the prolonged and angry controversy regarding him made much that I had to write skating over thin ice. . . .
>
> Of course the reviewers were not agreed. Those who were mugwumpish in their opinions of course insisted that it was a white-wash, but on the whole the reviews were favorable. The book still sells, 1922, to my surprise, for I do not understand why there is still interest in a man whose political life ended in disaster.

But he who reads the *Life* of Mr. Blaine will understand the success of the biography. Mr. Stanwood saw in the career an absorbing tragedy, played on a nation's stage. With remarkable skill and feeling in the use of English he carries the story step by step through great events in our history, revealing to the reader the very human motives which underlie all action.

After Mr. Stanwood issued his *Presidential Elections* in 1884 he had nearly forty years ahead of him. To assume that the three well-known books mentioned above were the only product of his career would be to misjudge his capacity. His

literary output was like the meteoric showers of November. From 1884 to 1892 he contributed articles on politics to the *Atlantic Monthly;* in 1885 he lectured on the Presidency at the Lowell Institute; during the next two years he edited a paper called *Silver and Gold,* and in 1891–92 another called *An Honest Dollar.* During the period when he was managing editor of the *Youth's Companion,* 1887–1911, he wrote *New England as a Consumer* (1888), articles for the *North American Review* (1890), Boston in the *Britannica,* "Cotton Manufactures in New England," in the *New England States* (1897), his class report and a study on Town Government the same year, "The Coming Presidential Election" for the *Quarterly* (1900), "Blind guidance for Blind men: 'Progressivism'" (1912), Tariff articles for the *Edinburgh Review* (1913), and weekly contributions to the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle.*

He had become a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1903, and recording secretary two years later. He continued to contribute articles and memoirs to the Proceedings up to the end of his life, together with a continuation of the Society's history which had been prepared by the late C. C. Smith. Throughout the Presidency of the late Charles Francis Adams he received long confidential letters (some of them exceedingly difficult to decipher) on men and policies connected with the Society.

Mr. Stanwood was long identified with the cotton industry, an odd but perhaps diverting change from the task of editing the *Youth's Companion.* He served as special agent for cotton manufactures in the eleventh census, and for textiles in the twelfth census. He was secretary and treasurer of a group of mill treasurers known as the Arkwright Club, beginning in 1891. Mr. Robert Amory, president of the Club, wrote: "We shall miss a figure who has stood out to represent the best in New England." The Club put on record that "his knowledge of the tariff, of public men and affairs, his keen intellect and his clear expression, marked him as a man of great ability," and paid a tribute to his helpfulness through thirty-two years. This devotion to the Arkwright Club was characteristic. He had no sooner become recording secretary of The Historical Society than he began to

check up the memoirs of deceased members to ascertain what gaps should be filled. It might be said without exaggeration that he was a more persistent beggar for memoirs than most reformers are for money.

He took the same unselfish interest in St. Paul's Church, Brookline, of which he became junior warden in January, 1914. He was an intimate friend of the late rector, Rev. Leonard Kip Storrs, and was loyal and devoted to the present rector the Rev. William L. Clark. To him the church, the organ, the choir, the hymns and the rector's sermons were sources of unfailing interest and delight.

The Public Library in Brookline absorbed much of his thought and strength from his first becoming a trustee in 1892. Although in failing health in 1920 he was made Chairman of the Board, and a year or two later the meetings of the Library Committee were sometimes held in his house. He was not of the type to become a vote-getter but when he came up for election from term to term he was never defeated.

His love of children during the minority of his own children has been mentioned. As they grew older Mr. Stanwood took on other interests. He had successive waves of enthusiasm. Organ music was a great and lasting joy to him, and every evening before dinner until the death of Mrs. Stanwood in 1916, he played his organ for half an hour. All his life he read the English newspapers for political events and ecclesiastical controversies. He read *Nature* very largely for its discussion of astronomy. Of less sustained interest were his digressions into detective fiction, Browning's poems, American humor, and the classics. For himself and his neighbors he made brass door keys until everyone was over-supplied.

To the many rising authors whom he helped along the road to reputation and a comfortable livelihood he was very often the *cher maître*. Miss Alice Brown, the novelist, wrote in a letter: "Alice Curtis and I have sessions of talk about you and always with love and praise." Mr. Frank Foxcroft, editor of the *Living Age* said in 1911: "I cannot tell you, in any conventional form of words, how I appreciate your unfailing consideration for me through all these years. . . . I value more highly than you can know your frank friend-

ship; and the chats I have had with you; and the chances I have had for knowing you will always be among the pleasantest recollections of my newspaper experience."

Edward P. Mitchell, for many years editor of the New York *Sun* obtained his first job under Mr. Stanwood. He wrote in 1912: "I have a warm place in my heart for you (if you will let me say so), and hope that some day it may be my good fortune to have a long talk about things contemporary and things of the flying years agone."

Miss Heloise E. Hersey referred to her twenty-one years of friendship with Mr. Stanwood, years without one false note to mar the harmony of their relations.

M. A. DeWolfe Howe, Arthur Stanwood Pier, and Henry Smith Chapman (who took up Mr. Stanwood's work for the *Statesman's Year-Book*), are among the many who served with him on the editorial staff.

The circle of his friends and correspondents was wide and varied. Viscount Bryce wrote from time to time on changing political conditions. One letter in 1915 on the possibility of Germany quarreling with the United States proved to be prophetic. Another from John Milne, F.R.S., then in the Isle of Wight, discussed the flotation of icebergs, continuing: "I found that a cone of ice would float with its apex downwards and its base exposed, providing that the diameter of the base was not less than two-fifths of the height of the cone." Sir Oliver Lodge discussed with him whether or not matter is constructed of dissociated or electrified ether. E. C. Pickering wrote of the paths of comets.

The editor of the *Quarterly Review* said in 1900 that Professor Lowell of Harvard had encouraged him to hope that he might induce Mr. Stanwood to write for the *Review* an explanation for British readers of the questions involved in the impending presidential election. Into the composition of this article he entered with great zest. With the editor, Mr. George W. Prothero, and with Sir J. Scott Keltie, editor of the *Statesman's Year-Book,* to which he contributed the American material, Mr. Stanwood kept up a desultory but pleasant correspondence for years. In 1895 he and Mr. S. N. Dexter North (later director of the Census) visited England

and met these and other men whom they both had come to know through correspondence.

No account of Mr. Stanwood would be complete without some reference to his cultivation of mild and harmless eccentricities. He once said: "If you write me up for the Historical Society do not fail to mention my peculiarities." He disliked intensely cats, silver dollars and victrolas. Art concerned him very little. He frowned upon novelists whose characters always complain "bitterly," and upon reporters who say that orators "flay" their opponents. He used to say that people who did a thing "every once in a while" must have failed once in a while. He used to "think" himself to sleep by raising two to the forty-eighth power, remembering the result as far as he had gone, and then continuing the next night. This proved too simple (I quote from an English theme at Harvard, written by his grandson) and so he multiplied two by three by four and so forth to twenty-seven. Another of his exercises was to perform a mathematical calculation which gave him a number containing well over two hundred digits. His next feat was to go alphabetically through his list of acquaintances until he had over twelve hundred surnames. Finally he amused himself toward the end of his life by advancing his time of retiring by two minutes each month. Method was of his nature. One could set a watch by his morning walk around the block. He had tea promptly at five and dinner always as the clock struck six. Then solitaire (a cycle of eleven kinds), the London *Times* and *Telegraph,* a novel, or visitors until bed time. Saturday night until late was devoted to the Whist Club, an ancient social institution of Brookline of which he wrote a history. When it came his turn to entertain no care or expense was too great to satisfy his taste and hospitality.

One of the pleasantest events in his last years was his intercourse with Robert L. O'Brien. That a younger journalist, peculiarly successful in his profession, should care to come Sunday after Sunday, year in and year out, to spend a part of his day in conversation with an old man whose career in journalism belonged to a bye-gone and perhaps obsolete period, puzzled him and kindled his pride. They

both knew much of political history in the making, the one from association with Blaine and the other from daily contact with Cleveland. One day during the last summer at Squirrel Island Mr. O'Brien stopped in a journey from Boston to spend a morning and remained to lunch. Weak as Mr. Stanwood was he repeated to his children with evident interest almost all the conversation of that occasion.

Mr. Stanwood was about five feet ten inches tall, very alert during his best years, in youth "bumptious" he used to say, with brown hair which never left him, and blue eyes. The late Fred A. Demmler of Pittsburgh, a never-to-be-forgotten German-American hero of the last days of the Great War, painted his portrait in 1916, a most satisfactory memorial, now that both have gone.

At Mr. Stanwood's death in Brookline, October 11, 1923, two children survived him, a third having died in infancy. These are Edward Stanwood, Jr., a lieutenant (junior grade) in the navy during the World War, and Ethel, wife of Charles K. Bolton. A brother lives in Chicago and a sister is the wife of Dr. Charles C. Willoughby, director of the Peabody Museum at Harvard. A nephew, Daniel C. Stanwood, is professor of International Law at Bowdoin. The Stanwood family had been associated with Bowdoin from the year of its foundation, 1794, when Colonel William Stanwood conveyed most of the land now comprised in the campus for a nominal amount. Some one of the family in each generation thereafter has been a graduate. The colonel himself was an overseer for seventeen years. Edward Stanwood his kinsman was an overseer (1886–1904) and trustee (1904–1923), covering a period of thirty-seven years. He received the degree of Doctor of Letters in 1894.

The path of every man's career is the resultant of the interaction of his abilities and his defects. Mr. Stanwood was sturdy in his defence of his convictions, too frank it may be in unmasking sham and dishonesty, not always patient as the saints are patient. But looking back upon his eighty-two years of tireless intellectual effort one trait stands out above all the rest, a trait which you may call provincial if you will, for he was, as has been said, the

product through three centuries of Essex County in Massachusetts. That trait was loyalty. His state, his college, his church were, right or wrong, his to maintain, to admonish if need be, but to support with all the strength of an absorbing devotion. In this aim he never wavered and he did not fail.

JANUARY MEETING, 1924.

THE stated meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 10th instant at three o'clock P.M., the First Vice President, Mr. LORD, in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Frederick Lewis Gay, through Mr. John H. Edmonds, some valuable manuscripts from the collection of her late husband, our former associate, among which are the Memoirs of General William Heath, from 1775 to 1803; papers relating to Marblehead (1753–1844); papers and account books of William Aspinwall, of Brookline, 1776–1813; Mather Byles's "Directions for a Kitchen Garden," 1740; a singing book written by Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, of Westborough, July 17, 1721; Navy List corrected to 1791; Diary of Ezekiel Price, Jr., 1787–88; letter of Mather Byles, Jr., Halifax, Dec. 3, 1779; several sermons of New England ministers, 1683–1825; a Bible of 1583, having the signature of Faith Winslow, 1698, and Abigail Lewis, 1757; and an original deed, parchment, of Richard and Edward Hutchinson to William Brenton of the mansion house and property opposite to School Street, Boston, where Gov. John Winthrop, Sen., lived from 1643 until his death in 1649.

From Robert G. Shaw, thirty-one volumes of the *Almanach de Gotha*, 1824–1896; and a diploma of the Medical Faculty Society, Harvard College, given to John Welles Hunnewell, July 8, 1860, signed by Edward G. Abbott and John Corlies White.

From Harry A. Wright, of Springfield, a letter of Col. Thomas Dwight, July 22, 1794.

From Miss Florence A. Sampson, of Northampton, a manuscript map of Massachusetts, made by her uncle, William Sampson in 1824.

By purchase, a manuscript narrative of the proceedings in Parliament, March 6, to May 27, 1679, relating to the Popish plot.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, and from Mrs. William Otis Curtis, of Brookline, printed books.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From the Peabody Museum, Salem, a photograph of its portrait of Rev. William Bentley painted by Frothingham.

From A. C. Simeons da Silva, the medal and card of admission to the 20th meeting of the International Congress of Americanists.

From Dr. Malcolm Storer, the Boston Latin School medal of Francis H. Storer, 1843.

From Dr. J. Collins Warren, a photograph of Henry Parkman Sturgis (1806–1869), son of Nathaniel Russell Sturgis.

From Mrs. Walter C. Howe, three photograph albums of members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1873, and of the Senate in 1878 and 1879, of which her father, the late Hon. Frederick D. Ely, of Dedham, was a member.

From Grenville H. Norcross, photographs of silhouettes of his great-great-grandparents, William Homer (1727–1823) and Mary Ridgway, his wife (1731–1810), of Boston.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from William Wallace Fenn accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

Charles Howard McIlwain, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Vice President announced the death, near Seattle, Washington, on Christmas Day, of Arthur Blake Ellis, a Corresponding Member, and spoke of his connection with the Society. Mr. Norcross also made some remarks as a life-long friend and Harvard classmate.

Professor EMERTON read a paper on "Bartolus and Mussolini" touching the Law of Tyranny, to be published elsewhere.

Mr. FORD read a paper on

VOTING WITH BEANS AND CORN.

This afternoon each member present voted in the election of a new member — a kernel of corn for admitting, a bean for rejecting. This has been the practice of the Society since 1815. In August of that year, on motion of Joseph McKean, it was

Voted, unanimously, that in balloting for members, and in taking any questions by yeas and nays . . . the law and custom of our forefathers be adopted, as it stands in the Statute of Elections, 1643, *mutatis mutandis,* " For the yearly choosing of assistants, the freemen shall use the Indian corn and beans, the Indian corn to manifest election, and the beans contrary."[1]

For more than a century the two leading products of Indian agriculture have served as our ballots and they have the sanction of use in the early years of the settlement of Massachusetts. The first elections of governor and assistants had been " by erection of hands," as in the company elections in London. This practice continued until 1634 when Dudley was chosen " by papers," the first employment of the ballot. Palfrey believes that in the contest for the governorship in that year between Winthrop and Dudley, " it would have been hard for the freemen to nerve themselves to the point of displacing their old benefactor by the customary ' erection of hands.' "[2] The new plan worked well and in 1635 a law provided for the election of deputies by papers, " as the Governor is chosen."[3] In 1636 the system of proxies was introduced.[4] Lechford, who wrote in 1641, describes no other method and his book appeared in 1642, a year before the resort to a vegetable ballot.

In September, 1643, the General Court passed the following:

> It is ordered, that for the yearly choosing of Assistants for the time to come, instead of papers the freemen shall use Indian beanes, the white beanes to manifest election, the black for blanks.[5]

This shows that McKean and his colleagues misread the order, for nothing is said of corn, but black and white beans alone are named. One can only wonder if there was a particular reason for adopting the beans in 1643. Paper was a somewhat scarce article and was brought from England, to be used with discretion, except in controversies over church doctrine and regulation. It is known that some of the freemen, excellent men as they were, signed their names with a

[1] 1 *Proceedings,* 1. 249.
[2] *History,* 1. 375.
[3] *Mass. Col. Records,* 1. 157.
[4] *Ib.,* 166, 188.
[5] *Mass. Col. Records,* 11. 42.

cross, and how could they be expected to write the name of their candidate on a ballot? To them a bean, distinguished by its color and demanding no mental or physical exercise so violent and absorbing as is exerted by one unable or just learning to write, offered a welcome refuge. Such considerations may have contributed to the practice, which certainly had secrecy in its favor, as no ballot could be traced to the person casting it.

Was there occurrence of ballot-stuffing or similar malpractices? No definite evidence exists, in spite of the plenty of ballots available. Yet there was an undoubted temptation present and a further order passed in October, 1643, points to something like an abuse of the voting privilege:

> It is ordered, that if any freeman shall put in more than one paper or beane for the choyce of any officer, hee shall forfett 10£ for every offence; and any man that is not free, putting in any vote, shall forfett the like somme of 10£.[1]

When the laws were first codified and printed — the compilation of 1648, which exists in the one copy extant, in the Henry E. Huntington Library — the terms of the law were altered so as to read:

> It is ordered by this Court and Authoritie thereof: That for the yearly choosing of Assistants for the time to come in stead of papers the Freemen shall use indian corn and beans. the indian corn to manifest election, the beans for blanks.
>
> And that if any Freeman shall put in more than one indian corn or bean for the choice or refusal of any public Officer, he shall forfeit for everie such offence ten pounds. And that any man that is not free or otherwise hath not libertie of voting, putting in any vote shall forfeit the like sum of ten pounds.

Here is found for the first time a mention of Indian corn as a ballot, taking the place of the white bean. In the original order of 1643 the penalty was directed against voting more than one paper or bean, although it was expressly directed that beans were to be used instead of papers. In the codified law this contradiction in terms was corrected, but the penalty for voting illegally was extended so as to

[1] *Mass. Col. Records*, II. 48.

apply as well to those who were not free as to such as "otherwise" had not libertie of voting. The high penalty laid — ten pounds — would indicate the existence of an evil. Had it been merely one in prospect a lower sanction would have sufficed.

The system laid down does not appear to have worked as smoothly as could be desired and something can be learned from a section found only in the code of 1648 and not recorded in the *Records:*

2 *For the preventing of many inconveniences that otherwise may arise upon the yearly day of Election, and that the work of that day may be the more orderly, easily and speedily issued, it is ordered by this Court and the authoritie thereof.*

That the Freemen in the several towns and villages within this Jurisdiction, shall this next year from time to time either in person or by proxie sealed up, make all their elections, by papers, indian corn and beans as heerafter expressed, to be taken, sealed up, & sent to the court of Election as this order appoints, the Governour, Deputie Governour, Major Generall, Treasurer, Secretary and Commissioners for the united Colonies to be chosen by writing, open or once folded, not twisted or rolled up, that so they may be the sooner and surer perused: and all the Assistants to be chosen by indian corn and beans, the indian corn to manifest election as in *Sect*: 1: and for such small villages as come not in person and that send no Deputies to the Court, the Constable of the said, together with two or three of the chiefe Freemen shall receive the votes of the rest of their Freemen, and deliver them together with their own sealed up to the Deputie or Deputies for the next town, who shall carefully convey the same unto the said Court of Election. [1647]

In the code of 1672 the first section is not modified except that it reads "the Beans contrary" instead of "the beans for blanks." In the second section no essential change was made. New orders for conducting elections, made in February, 1679–80, for the year only, make no mention of either corn or beans; but a later and quite similar regulation, passed in October, 1680, calls for twenty Assistants "to be chosen out of twenty sixe persons in nomination by Indian corne." [1] When the use of corn and beans was abandoned I do not

[1] *Mass. Col. Records,* v. 261, 292.

know. Neither commodity was adopted as ballots in the neighboring plantations of Plymouth and Connecticut, and Rhode Island in 1647 provided that the "Election of Officers should be by papers." Massachusetts-Bay appears to have stood alone in its practice.

Before going further let me say that the kernels of corn now used in the ballot-box of the Society came from the ear of corn held up by Edward Everett in his speech on "Vegetable and Mineral Gold," at the dinner of the United States Agricultural Society, in Boston, October 26, 1855, and blessed with the following eloquence of the time:

> Drop a grain of our gold, of our blessed gold, into the ground, and lo! a mystery. In a few days it softens, it swells, it shoots upwards, it is a living thing. It is yellow itself, but sends up a delicate spire, which comes peeping, emerald green, through the soil; it expands to a vigorous stalk; revels in the air and sunshine; arrays itself more glorious than Solomon, in its broad, fluttering, leafy robes, whose sound, as the west wind whispers through them, falls as pleasantly on the husbandman's ear, as the rustle of his sweetheart's garment; still towers aloft, spins its verdant skeins of vegetable floss, displays its dancing tassels, surcharged with fertilizing dust, and at last ripens into two or three magnificent batons like this (an ear of Indian corn,) each of which is studded with hundreds of grains of gold, every one possessing the same wonderful properties as the parent grain, every one instinct with the same marvellous reproductive powers. There are seven hundred and twenty grains on the ear which I hold in my hand.[1]

It is needless to follow the rhapsodist further, for we have no time to waste. The ear thus drenched in oratory came from Lexington and was given by Mr. Everett to Mr. Winthrop, on the ride home from the dinner. It has stood the test of nearly seventy years and has supplied our ballot-boxes since 1855; but I regret to say that it was thrown away within a few years, with its unused kernels — a matter for regret, for no other ear, corn or human, could endure in patience and unscathed so eloquent a tribute.

Two points were suggested while tracing the use of corn and beans as ballots in this Society. Was the practice original in Massachusetts-Bay or a survival of an older

[1] Everett, *Orations*, III. 386.

usage? Why was the bean adopted for a negative vote, one of disapproval and therefore of ill omen to the candidate? Our account of early balloting in the Massachusetts-Bay shows that in the beginning there was no prejudice against the bean as a bean; the black bean, a matter of color, gave the negative meaning, the refusing or rejecting of a candidate. When corn was substituted for a white bean any bean could be used to express disapproval. No explanation was given of the change and no reason is on record for making the bean play the unlovely part of destroying reputation and opportunity. Yet curiously enough this selection of the bean was a perfectly natural act, illustrative of a world's attitude toward that useful and nutritious seed of a leguminous plant. The story is a long one, but of some interest.

In ancient Greece beans were used in elections but with the idea of lot and not of ballot. In Rome they were employed to gather the votes of the people and in the election of magistrates. A white bean meant absolution or election, and a black bean rejection or condemnation — just as they did in Massachusetts-Bay — and color was the test. Color was older still, for Ovid tells the story of Myscelus, son of Alemon of Argos and founder of Crotona, in Italy, who was directed by Hercules in a vision to leave his native land and seek out the rocky channel of the distant Aesar. But the laws forbade his going and decreed death to the man who should desire to change his fatherland. A second vision determined Myscelus, but, being arrested and tried, he appealed to Hercules. "It was the custom in ancient times to use white and black pebbles, the black for condemning prisoners and the white for freeing them from the charge. At this time also the fatal vote was taken in this way; and every pebble that was dropped into the pitiless urn was black! But when the urn was turned and the pebbles poured out for counting, the color of them all was changed from black to white." Hercules had intervened.[1] Our political parties have ceased to depend upon Hercules and have devised and practised methods of accomplishing the same end — of defeating the will of the people — which have made the Myscelus incident child's play, miracle as it was. North in

[1] Ovid, xv. 41–47.

translating Plutarch uses the phrase: "He came to it [office] by drawing of the Bean," and Holland, also dealing with Plutarch, says, "Abstaine from beanes," meaning, "intermeddle not in the affaires of state." Milton probably recalled this use rather than an actual practice of his day when he wrote in his Free Commonwealth: "To convey each Man his bean or ballot into the Box."

As to their moral standing among plants the record is quite consistent. The bean (*vicia faba*) was not native in Europe and is believed to have been brought from Asia in the earliest migrations of the western Aryans. In its wild state it had a limited and somewhat precarious existence. The seeds do not transport themselves and they are easily taken by animals; the plant was actually disappearing from the earth and would have disappeared but for the intervention of man and cultivation. The lake-dwellers of Switzerland cultivated a variety and in Northern Italy it was known in the bronze age. In Egypt the bean is not found in the tombs nor is it represented on the stone carvings, though it was anciently cultivated in that country. The reason as given by Herodotus was: "The Egyptians never sow beans on their lands, and if it comes, they eat them neither raw nor cooked. The priests cannot even bear the sight of them; they imagine that this plant is impure." Yet it is more than probable that the poorer peasants living on land suitable for their culture were not so squeamish as the priests; and they were certainly cultivated in Egypt in the days of Plutarch, some five centuries after the time of Herodotus.

Of the large family of leguminous plants found today in Syria, many hundreds in number, only two are named in the Bible — lentils and beans. Yet it is known that the pulse group of foods was of great antiquity and held an important place in eastern economy, and at the present day beans rank next to wheat as the most important food stuffs in Syria and Egypt. Nor is there any evidence that beans were held in reprobation by the Jews, or as sacrificially unclean. Nor are they mentioned in the deuteronomic laws as tithable, though they would fall into the more general rule of Leviticus (XXVII. 30) "all the tithe of the soil, whether of the seed of the ground or the fruit of the tree, is Yahwè's." Freedom

from taxation would encourage their cultivation against wheat, which was tithable. In the Bible beans are twice mentioned — 2. Sam. xvii, 28, and Ez. iv. 9 — and from neither mention can any conclusion be drawn, so casual is it.[1]

In Rome the bean was used in the lemuria, the rites to propitiate the lemures, shades or ghosts of the departed, the ceremonies falling on the three nights of the 9th, 11th and 13th of May every year; also in the parentalia, the festival in honor of dead parents or relatives. In the Saturnalia, connected with the god and demons of vegetation and the soul, a goddess, Acca Larentia, a goddess of husbandry was concerned. Her cognomen was Fabola or Fabula, accepted as a reference to the offering of beans to the dead, she having something to do with the Lares or Larvae, ghosts or spectres. Beans and bacon were offered also to the goddess Carna, guardian of the door-hinge — domestic life — and the physical well-being of men. Her festival day — fabariae calendae — was celebrated about the first of June. It was pollution for the flamen Dialis, the priest of Jupiter, to touch or even to name beans.

Recalling that the Egyptian priests looked upon the bean as impure and that it was pollution for the flamen Dialis to touch or even to name them, we naturally look for some specific reason. No follower of Pythagoras would eat a bean. A somewhat fantastic story is told in various forms of the death of Pythagoras. Pursued by the Crotonians, or some other enemies, he came to a field of beans. By one account he was ashamed to run through it and was killed by his pursuers. Another relation tells of his coming to the field but he hesitated. "It were better to die here," he said, "than to cause the destruction of these poor beans." The story in such a form is untrue. A note in Bohn's Pliny records a suggestion that Pythagoras in recommending his disciples to abstain from beans meant to advise them to have nothing to do with politics. Pliny himself states that it was generally thought that beans dulled the senses and caused sleepless nights attended with dreams; [2] adding,

[1] See *Encyclopædia Biblica* (Cheyne-Black), II. 1541.

[2] Cicero also entertained this belief.

"hence it is that the bean has been condemned by Pythagoras." In spite of that he does mention the real reason for the denunciation of beans by Pythagoras, but doubtfully, with the words "according to some." [1] Nearly fifteen hundred years later, in 1551, an English writer, Turner, wrote in his *Herbal* (I. 178), that "Beanes . . . are harde of digestion, and make troblesum dreames," but no philosopher of his day damned them on that account.

The decree of Pythagoras against beans might pass for an eccentricity were it not for the Indian prohibitions of equal weight and greater age. The Mâitrâyani Samhitâ, which dates about the tenth century before Christ, says "No one shall eat beans; beans are unholy" — or unworthy of sacrifice. The prohibition in much the same form is found in later Indian writings and was either absolute, or applied to a certain time — when a man was about to offer a sacrifice and should be pure.[2]

Taboo is found in every part of the world and has played a deeply significant part in that long and painful journey from savagery to civilization. Many of these taboos have come down to us as reasonable precautions against death or disease, as social habits and as religious beliefs and observances. "The beginnings of the moral law are based on food-tabus." [3] The savage does not distinguish between what is holy and what is pollution and gathers all taboos in one class — as pertaining to things or persons who are dangerous, or in danger, and who can expose others to danger, conceived as spiritual or ghostly. "These taboos act, so to say, as electrical insulators to preserve the spiritual force with which these persons [or things] are charged from suffering or inflicting harm by contact with the outer world." [4]

That human souls after the death of the body transmigrate into animals is a common belief and has created a multitude of prohibitions as to eating animal food. The Laws of Manu, the law-book of India, even gave a scale of degradation

[1] Pliny, *Natural History*, Bk. XVIII. ch. 30.

[2] Professor Lanman gave me a reference to an article by L. von Shroeder, "Das Bohnenverbot bei Pythagoras und im Veda," a copy of which is now in the Boston Public Library.

[3] Crawley, in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, VI. 59.

[4] Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, 224.

exactly proportioned to the degree of moral guilt of the transgressor.[1] In ancient Greece both Empedocles and Pythagoras adopted the theory of transmigration and Pythagoras included plants as well as animals as possible holders of souls of the dead. Not only to the savage are the souls of the dead malignant, revisiting the living to their injury, and therefore to be propitiated, by a feast or sacrifice or offerings. Nor is the soul alone concerned. The most archaic form of a funeral feast, "if barbarism be a test of archaism, in which it is known to us, is where the meat is nothing less than the corpse of the departed kinsman." Later other products were used — a special food, such as beans — probably to represent the flesh of the dead man.[2] In process of time these products were not eaten but destroyed, as unclean.

So we have an explanation of the prohibition made by Pythagoras and by Indians, by Egyptians and Romans and of the reason why a bean in this room means a negative vote. An offering or sacrifice to a god was wholly different from an offering to a soul or departed spirit, a ghost or a spectre. It was inadmissible to use a product, flesh or vegetable, for both purposes, and the bean, devoted to the dead, was unclean and could not be offered to a god. Thus there were times when exceptional purity or cleanliness was demanded, the times when offerings were made to a god. A bean could not then be eaten, or seen, or even mentioned. Whatever was connected with the dead was unclean — the world over.

So we come back to today's incident. In voting by corn and bean you were following a precedent of at least twenty centuries; in clothing the bean with an adverse or condemning function you reflected and repeated an opinion or prejudice that has more than thirty recorded centuries behind it, not to mention the many more centuries in which the custom took form. Who says the Society is not conservative?

[1] Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn*, II. 299.
[2] Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, II. 278*ff*.

HENRY CLAY TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

ASHLAND, 26th May, 1837.

DEAR SIR, — I have to thank you for the hearty laugh (which in these gloomy times is no small affair) which you afforded me by the Caricature which you did me the favor to send me.

I think that, altho' they are complicated, it would not be difficult to develope the causes which have led to the present unhappy state of our Country. But, as Congress will shortly be in Session, I shall reserve for that occasion an exposition of my views of them, and of the remedies which should be applied, if indeed there be any sure remedies. I say this, in answer to your friendly suggestion that I should make a public statement of my views at this time.

In regard to the kind expression of your wish that I would consent to the use of my name for a particular office, I must say that I have seen no indications of any general desire that it should be so used; and that to allow myself to be forced upon the public attention is the last thing I should be willing to do.

Mr. Webster and his lady and daughter have passed a week with us. They left Lexington yesterday. Their reception has been very cordial and I hope satisfactory to him. With great regard I am Y'rs truly,

H. CLAY.

P.S. As far as I have heard the suspension of Specie payments by the Banks in the West is general, without a single exception.

H. C.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

THE stated meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P.M., the first Vice-President, Mr. LORD, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following gifts:

From Mrs. Frederick L. Gay, through Mr. John H. Edmonds, valuable papers, from the collection of her late husband, numbering several hundred autograph pieces, from 1635 to 1890. These papers, gathered by Mr. Gay in New England and American history, include writings of men prominent in Boston, Salem, Ipswich, Marblehead, Dedham, and Brookline, as well as sermons of Samuel Willard (1659), William Adams (1671), Joseph Baxter (1693), and Ebenezer Gay (1714, and of 1737); also the notebook of Rev. Joseph Sewall, 1703; and a description of John Perkins' land in Ipswich, 1635, signed by John Winthrop, Jr., and Richard Saltonstall.

From George R. Crapo, a photograph of a deed of land in Dartmouth, Mass., May 20, 1690, from Philip Cumming to Benjamin Howland.

From Miss Naomi Bynner, an invitation written by Lady Frankland to Mr. and Mrs. Brinley to dine with her, dated September 15, 1773.

From Miss Emma Rodman, autographs and other material, including a list of boys at Round Hill School, Northampton, January 1, 1830, made by her father, Samuel William Rodman.

From Lawrence Shaw Mayo, and Henry S. Shaw, the account books of Ichabod and Southworth Shaw, of Plymouth, 1768–1805; and a patent to land in Missouri granted to Joshua Thompson in 1819.

From Mrs. Elliott W. Pratt, a letter of Gen. Horatio Gates, from Headquarters, December 3, 1775, to General Ward, on smallpox in the American Army.

From Miss Frances A. Plimpton, photostat negatives of a sermon by Increase Mather, November 1, 1702, and Cotton Mather's list of marriages by him from September 11, 1701, to January 22, 1701–2, from originals in Harvard College Library.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Mrs. Barrett Wendell, the medallic portrait of her late husband, Barrett Wendell, a Resident Member of this Society, made by Theodore Spicer-Simson in 1905.

From Thomas A. Watson, the medallic portrait of him, by Theodore Spicer-Simson, 1923; and a photograph of the same given by Mr. Spicer-Simson.

From Henry W. Cunningham, a lithograph by J. H. Bufford, of the " Ladies Fair for the Poor, at Music Hall, Boston, March 8th, 1858; " and reproductions of the portrait of Captain John Linzee, 1775, and of the Crossed Swords of Prescott and Linzee.

From Howard M. Chapin, some early Massachusetts paper money.

From Grenville H. Norcross, a photograph of a painting by Cole of Mrs. Mary (Rand) Fitch, wife of Jeremiah Fitch, of Boston and Bedford, photographs of Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, and Mrs. Grover Cleveland; several buttons and coins, a Lincoln and Hamlin badge, and engraved portraits of George Washington.

From Mrs. A. C. Walling, a ring given by Major General Nelson A. Miles in 1865 to her father, Joseph Alba Davis, made from a piece of brass picked up on a Southern battle field.

From Miss Helen M. Winslow of Shirley, two photographs of St. Peter's Church, Droitwich, England, the ancestral home of the Winslow family; also a gold-beater's anvil used by her great-grandfather Amasa Winslow, of Colrain, Mass., 1800–1824; and a tuning-fork used by her father, Deacon Avery Winslow, of Vermont, in the '50's.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received a letter from Charles Howard McIlwain accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

Wilbur Cortez Abbott, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Charles McLean Andrews, of New Haven, Connecticut, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Vice-President announced the death in Washington on February 3, 1924, of President Woodrow Wilson, a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. FORD then read as follows:

Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States 1913–1921, the outstanding figure in the World War, and a Corre-

sponding Member of this Society since 1897, died on the morning of Sunday, February 3, 1924.

The names of three Presidents of the United States are carried on the membership rôle of the Society, two were resident members and one a corresponding member. John Adams alone was elected while President on July 31, 1800, and was a member for nearly twenty-six years. His son John Quincy Adams was elected two years after the father, on April 27, 1802, while still a young man, and three weeks after his election to the State Senate. His service as Minister to Holland, as well as family reasons, served as his credentials. He was a more active member during his nearly forty-six years of membership, attending meetings when in Boston, serving on committees, a President pro tempore and the orator on May 29, 1843, at the second centennial celebration of the Confederation of the New England Colonies. From the papers of both father and son the Society has drawn heavily the best of historical material, equalled only by the Winthrop collection in the wide scope and richness of records and in the personal features that are so important in written history.

Mr. Wilson was elected February, 1897, while he was professor of jurisprudence, and was thus a member for nearly twenty-seven years, lacking only eight days. He never was present at a meeting and the heavy demands made upon his time and strength prevented his making any communications. While not a contributing member he appreciated the privileges and the honor it offered. The story of his career is not to be written at the present time, but his purposes and ideals and his expression of them produced great effects at the time and a lasting promise for the future. The wave of popular feeling on his death spoke eloquently of a recognition of his influence and sacrifice.

All three were positive characters, great makers of history and creators of opposition. It is not a little significant that these three Presidents were each overwhelmed by reactions of public feeling against their policies. John Adams retired to private life in 1801 and for a quarter of century had reason to protest against the political revolution which overthrew him and his party. John Quincy Adams

also suffered the same kind of defeat in 1828, but recovered himself and for sixteen years waged a contest in the House which has given him greater reputation than he had made as President. Mr. Wilson's policy was submitted to the voters after the war and rejected, the reaction that has overturned the war ministries in every country involved. Fifty years from this History will record its judgment. It has dealt kindly with the two Adams, justifying their acts and perfect honesty of intention. To the same judge have passed the last ten years. Already the bitterness of partisanship has decreased, tribute has been paid to the dead and a better sense of relations and historical perspective laid down. No character, however great or however little, can escape the final audit. Fortunate for him, who, admitting his readiness does not fear it.

General SCHAFF read a paper on the *Writings of Jefferson Davis,* published by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

Mr. MURDOCK read a paper on "Earl Percy and Mr. Boswell," to be published elsewhere.

DIARY AND LETTERS OF CHARLES P. HUNTINGTON.

On behalf of Mr. HOWE, Mr. FORD read extracts from a Diary of Judge Charles Phelps Huntington of Northampton and Boston, who married a daughter of Elijah Hunt Mills, a Representative and Senator from Massachusetts in the National Congress. With the Diary were a few letters which are printed below.

DIARY, 1831–1834.

1831, *January* 7. Had a call from Peere this afternoon, and spent the greater part of it talking and walking. What is very strange and uncommon between us, scarcely a word was said upon clerical affairs or upon theological subjects. [Fenimore] Cooper, the Sedgwicks, Champollion, somnambulism and the last No. of the N. American [Review], were the principal topics. Cooper is said to be excessively vain and egotistical in society, wanting in gentlemanly manners and refinement, at times very agreeable. He made himself so exceedingly interesting to a lady at a party in N. York, where he was a self-invited guest, by telling her

whom it was and was not proper for her to dance with, that the lady of the house hinted to him that it would be pardonable in him to retire if he did not choose to be kicked out. He quarrelled with his landlady in Paris because she inserted in her bill a charge for new and elegant furniture scratched and damaged by his children. He also abused the French till they gave him the freedom of the city and noticed him in sundry other particulars. The surest way to quiet a growling cur is to throw him a bone, and Cooper can swallow anything that will nourish his vanity. He is besides this rather eccentric, abusing his wife and indulging in other amusing oddities.

Saturday, *January* 8. The anniversary of the old President's fight at New Orleans, whose achievements on that glorious day I helped to commemorate two years since at Adams by an oration. So unpatriotic have I now grown that I should have forgotten the day had I not happened to have seen it alluded to in that notable paper, the *Statesman.*

Monday, *January* 10. Had an account from Peere M. Esq. today of Barnard Whitman's letter of 100 pages in reply to Stuart,[1] who came out last summer with an attack upon Channing. From all accounts he has diligently and with a perseverance worthy of a better cause collected and published all the dirty tricks which the opposite party have been guilty of for the last ten years, my Father's persecutions among the rest. What good comes of these everlasting religious controversies? Are they calculated to make the Clergy more respected in the eyes of the people? The remarks[2] of the " Spirit of the Pilgrims " upon this pamphlet are sheer Billingsgate, and if I had not known it was a religious (Heaven save the mark) publication, I should have thought I was reading the last " Journal " or " Telegraph." Sam F. Lyman was in my office this evening lauding Whitman and his labors. A real bull-dog fight; the bystanders take sides and clap their hands, as one or the other gets gripped by the neck and rolled in the dirt.

Wednesday evening [12]. Had a call from Brother Dewey yesterday about the working mens bar rules, from which I infer that he has had a talk with Oliver Warner, whose senatorial patrimony he did not attempt to pilfer last spring with the expectation that he would give it to him next Spring, and that the humble publican and Senator advises him to keep quiet and not to stir up the working men against him at the next elections by

[1] *Two Letters to the Reverend Moses Stuart, on the Subject of Religious Liberty:* 1830.

[2] By Enoch Pond. Whitman replied in a pamphlet, 1831.

his inflammatory attacks upon the doings of one [of] their Committees. He said more, however, this evening at their meeting than he intended, but [was] exceedingly concilatory and rather disposed to yield to them their great point, to wit, the expense of settling suits before Court. Forbes made a long and very able defence of the bar rules and the bar, giving Tom Shepherd some desperate thrusts under the fifth rib. Tom, though considered as invulnerable as a Loon, fluttered as though he was wounded a little. Chauncey Clark reproved Forbes very handsomely for his personalities and escaped with fewer coughs than the lawyers. To tell the truth, the audience gave tokens of severe irritations at the lungs before Forbes finished. The report was recommitted to the same Committee with the addition of two. Bancroft[1] had some resolutions upon the militia laws which fortunately I was not in season to hear read. Banckey's prejudice and ill will towards lawyers is inexcusable, for he sins against his better knowledge. However, he dared not open his mouth in the discussion; he dealt in secret sly insinuations, button-hole arguments behind doors and old barrels.

February, 1832. John Q. Adams has lately come out an Anti-tariff man. The Dragon stationed at Washington to guard the golden fleece of N. England seems to have had the juices of the Lethean herbs squirted into his eyes and to have consented to its being stolen by the Southern Argonauts. By what political incantations was this brought about?

Monday, *March* 26. Friday wrote a little squib upon Town meeting called Part of 99th Chapter of Chronicles and sent in a letter shape to Curtis. Great fun and great curiosity to know the writer. Kept dark and took a copy of C. Clarke to lull suspicion. Pity if I must stand godfather to every anonymous squib that appears in Courier or elsewhere. I forgot to record that I was candidate for Town Clerk against Charles Hooker, Stoddard having declined. Got distanced on account of my Unitarianism. The little scrubs among the orthodox had two sets of votes circulated, one with the name of Stoddard, the other of Hooker. Stoddard got up and declined at the last moment and then came in the Hooker scrips. Mem. Office good for nothing but mark the nature of the beasts.

August 27. There is to be a meeting here Friday afternoon for the purpose of organising a County Colonization Society. A strange apathy has existed upon the subject of African colonization in this part of the country considering the momentous nature of

[1] George Bancroft.

the subject and the claims it has upon the consideration and contributions of the benevolent. We ought to rejoice if anything can stir up the feelings of the people upon the subject, and the incendiary doctrines of the advocates of immediate emancipation may have one good effect among many bad ones, to excite people to aid the efforts of the Colonization society. The practicability of the scheme proposed by this society has been fully tested. On the western coast of Africa a colony of Blacks has been founded, consisting of between two and three thousand in number, independent, and republican in government, with schools, houses of worship, ministers of religion, and all the means of prosperity and intelligence in their hands. Ample territory has been secured by purchase from the natives for all the blacks who can be provided with the means and the liberty to emigrate and more can be had. The climate is most congenial and the soil equals any upon earth for fertility. Thousands are waiting to embrace the land of their origin and of liberty, and funds only are wanting, and without funds nothing can be done. Many slaveholders at the South are ready to emancipate their slaves, but they cannot turn them loose upon society in the midst of a population in bondage. They cannot send them into other states, for they will not receive them; they cannot educate them, for it would open their eyes to their situation and put weapons into their hands to be turned upon themselves. They cannot be expected in addition to this great sacrifice of property to defray the expenses of their removal to Liberia. All they can do, and this is more than they could be expected to do, is to offer them to the Colonization Society to transport them in a land of freedom. Thus much they do. Thousands are now offered and are now looking and longing for the land of their fathers. But what can the Society do without means, and how are funds to be obtained except by the organisation of societies and voluntary donations? The slaveholders at great sacrifice offer the subjects for removal and shall not the non-slaveholders provide the funds necessary? Our fathers brought them to the South and sold them and shall not we do all in our power to atone for their offences ignorantly committed against liberty and religion? Look at the free blacks among us. I hesitate not to say that their condition as to mere personal and animal comfort is worse than that of a slave. A poor despised race, cut off, eternally cut off, from equality with the whites by their color, never intended by the God of nature to intermix with them, and they never will, until they can change their hue. But can the Ethiopian change his skin? no more than the leopard can his spots. The popular feeling upon this subject never can

be changed. Man may talk and rant forever upon their equality by nature but they cannot convince, they cannot erase the brand stamped upon them by Almighty power. These free blacks feel, perhaps, a prejudice against removing, a prejudice instilled into them by wicked enthusiasts; but when sufficient funds can be raised to excite and create a general movement, emigration will become popular and the bond and the free among the blacks will crowd in to be restored to the soil whence they sprung, and to their freedom and rank among the nations of the earth. Foreign and domestic missions and bible societies receive large contributions from the philanthropic in this part of the country. But the Colonization Society at the present time has paramount claims upon us to either of those societies. It forwards them all. It aids the cause of missions, for it lets in the light of the Christian religion and civilization upon the benighted millions of Africa. In the colony at Liberia the societies have a standing example of what religion, liberty and cultivation can do for man, though his color is black and his habits savage — a beautiful commentary upon Christianity and freedom. It sends among them missionaries, it educates thousands upon the spot to preach to their brethren. Every industrious and moral black the moment he lands in Liberia becomes a missionary, a herald of the cross. It aids bible societies, it establishes presses among these benighted tribes from which thousands of volumes will be issued in the language of the natives. In short, it aids the cause of freedom and humanity throughout the world. It teaches other nations to look with respect upon our forms of religion and government when they see what they have done and can do for a people sunk by their barbarity and color to the lowest depths of degradation. The cause of colonization accomplishes two objects at once. While it removes from among us that unclean thing, that curse, slavery, it throws light upon another vast continent. Every step taken to rid ourselves of the evil at home sends good to a nation abroad. A creature forever worthless and forever lost here, becomes a blessing to himself and others, when removed. It is restoring sickly exotics to their native soil, where they will expand their leaves and bloom and bear fruit, some fifty and some an hundred fold.

September 14. The foregoing effusion was intended as the basis of some remarks at the organization of the County Colonization Society at which I was chosen Treasurer; but they were not uttered because the meeting was composed principally of staunch orthodox clergymen and their particular satellites, President Humphrey in the chair, and I thought my sincerity might be doubted. Neither did I wish to subject myself to the imputa-

tion of currying favor with that party. But the cause is a good one. I should have been obliged to have followed Dr. Humphrey by seconding his motion, which seemed to me rather an unnatural consecutive. The first Tuesday in September I had another tustle in behalf of the five rejected retailers against Forbes and the "gentlemen of the temperance society," which ended after one trial of a day and a half in the rejection of their petition and, after another trial, in granting licenses for selling wine to two of them and wine and beer to a third. This the temperance men called the worst defeat.

October 1. Convention holden here Wednesday evening to choose delegates to the Worcester Convention for the nomination of Governor. Speeches from Bancroft, Newcomb and Bates. Workingmen's meeting this evening to choose delegates for their County Convention. Plan for some nationals to attend, to secure a Clay direction to it in the choice of Governor. Doubt about these tricks in politics.

October 17, 1832. Last week Tuesday, P.M. 5 o'clock, Oct. 7th, S. F. Lyman, Stephen Brewer, William Brewer of Eastport, J. H. Butler, J. Alleyn Strong, John Frink, Dr. Cornelius Delano, Col. Ward of Worthington and myself started off for Worcester to attend the National Republican Convention. Lyman, Brewer, Butler, Strong and myself, were delegates to fill vacancies, Judge Lyman being the only original appointee that attended. We went to Ware the same evening, had a good supper at Sam Phelps, got up at five next morning, breakfasted at Bonnie's in Brookfield, and got into Worcester between ten and eleven. Drove up to Worthington's, all full. Went on to Thomas', all full. After some parleying he agreed to give us our meals but would stipulate for nothing further. About this time we went to the cattle pens, but it beginning to rain we took shelter in the Town hall, where was an exhibition of domestic manufactures, consisting in this case principally of cartloads of cheese and butter. Not equal to the Hampshire Hall in other respects. The rain continuing we betook ourselves to the meeting-house near by, where an oration was being delivered by Waldo Flint, brother of our Doctor, a very neat, sensible production and exactly adapted to the occasion, Gov. Lincoln presiding. We betook ourselves next to the ground destined for the trial of strength in working cattle, but the rain being too severe for me, I returned to Thomas' under the shelter of George Bancroft's umbrella. Toward night some of our party thought of going over to Millbury for lodgings and whist, but by the agency of Frink and Delano, stagemen, beds had been provided for us near by Thomas', as follows: Across the way

in an old store was a ground room which seemed to have been deserted for all human purposes, but was now made convertible for a vast mass of flesh and blood. In one corner was a bed on the floor nearly wide enough for three. On the opposite side a bed and bed-stead for two; next, a bed on the floor for two; next, bed and bed-stead for two, and then in the opposite corner, a single bed and bed-stead. Between the first and last lying-down contrivances was a chimney without a fire-place. I turned my back upon the company face to the wall and touched off the separate lodgments — the bed for three on the floor to Butler, Brewer and Strong, and the single bed to myself. This assignment made fun enough, as we owed a grudge to the three for disturbing us the night before. My bed I gave up to Gore who was rather unwell and took a bed with Sam Lyman. The roads were muddy and we had brought into our room on our boots a goodly quantity of moist dirt. Then we had smoked freely, and spit liberally and trod about sufficiently so that undressing could be done to great advantage. There was one chair in the room: the air of the room was damp as the tomb and close as a pit and thoroughly impregnated with tobacco smoke and the breaths of ten men. The sheets were slimy, having been often slept in before and then exposed to dampness, and the bed-stead ricketty. I suppose all the dirty sheets of the previous week had been picked out from the dirty clothes closet at the tavern house and put to a second turn of service. On Wednesday evening Butler, Brewer, Strong and myself, under the escort of George Bancroft, were introduced to the Governor, took a hasty cup of coffee and then went to caucus at the Court House. Stephen White was put in the Chair and a Committee sent out to report the mode in which the Convention should be organised on the morrow. They reported that the members should be called to order by the then Chairman; that the Worcester delegation should invite a Clergyman to offer up prayers and that a Committee should be appointed by the Chair to report to the Convention a list of officers, and that the Convention should assemble at nine o'clock on Thursday. Thursday the Convention assembled, between five and six hundred in number, officers were chosen, etc., etc. I saw Hill, my classmate, who invited me to take a bed at his house, but Lyman was apprehensive as to whom he might have for bedfellow in such case and therefore I did not accept. The assembly was a noble one. Every tavern was filled to overflowing. Not a place where a man could find rest for his resting apparatus. Friday at ten Webster commenced his address to the Convention and continued it about two hours. Thomas told Emmons that he was up all night the night before

which may account for his moving the postponement of the resolutions the evening before to the next day — he wanted further time for preparation. When he rose John Davis moved that he might be invited to take the stage, as "there were many who wanted to see as well as hear him." The lower floor was filled with members and the galleries for the most part with ladies. He walked on the stage amidst loud clappings. I sat fourth or fifth pew from him and had a full view of him from head to floor. He was considerably embarrassed at first owing to his naked position probably, as was evidenced by his deep breathings. He more than equalled my expectations. His forte is in his emphasis, voice and look. His features undergo, while he is speaking, wonderful changes of expression according to the sentiment working within. The expression of scorn and contempt and anger is the most wonderful. You can see those feelings working within as plainly and as horridly as writhing blood-thirsty leeches or preserved monsters in a glass jar, or snakes in a glass cage. He is not a very fluent man, though choice in the selection of words. Some of his sentences were imperfectly finished and now and then he hesitates. In the fore part of his speech I thought I had heard others speak as well, but I soon gave up that fancy. When he said a good thing which specially met the approbation of the audience, he seemed inclined to ring a change or two upon it, as public speakers are wont to do. At the close of his speech, in view of the dangers of the country, he was so moved himself as to be unable to proceed for a moment and his audience also to a man; but the women were rather insensible. Amply were we repaid for all the inconveniences we suffered during our sojourn. Saw several old acquaintances, Wood of Fitchburg, Dr. Blood, Folsom, Baldwin, Hastings, Harrington, Freeman, Bill Lee, etc. We left at four P.M. as soon as Everett had finished reading his address to the people and slept at Ware. Played whist and lost a little champagne till between one and two and got home to dine Saturday. Found all well at home and shall never regret the money and time spent. Having heard Webster I would go farther than ever to hear Clay.

December 14. Since writing the above had considerable to do. County Convention after the Worcester Convention. Chosen chairman of County Committee to carry National Republican ticket; had to appoint Town Committees through the County with a printed circular to each Town. Get votes printed, etc., and made out to raise Lincoln's vote from the last year considerably. Run for Representative myself, got 160 votes and was defeated by the machinations of Mo Breck and Company, who made use

of a hissing and scraping that the Nationals gave Chauncey Clark at a caucus the night before election to run their Candidate down. Thus Clark was chosen in my stead. Not sorry except for being beaten after being run; better for my affairs not to go. Flint and Dickinson's demands are to be collected this winter and old pensioners attended to, so that it would have been peculiarly difficult for me to have left. The large vote given for Jackson in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, which the opposition had calculated upon with great certainty caused great dejection for a while. Even the Jackson men were astonished at their success. . . . Yesterday the proclamation of the President came against South Carolina nullification and will no doubt produce a sensation. I predict that it will drive the Nullifiers to Secession, though it would be rather a silly thing since the President has granted all they ask in his message. Bancroft read the message last evening at the meeting of the Mechanics Institute with great effect. A committee was appointed to call a Town meeting, if they should think it advisable, to pass resolutions supporting the President in the ground he takes against the nullifiers. Quaere about this.

December 29, 1833. More than a year since an entry in this *diurnal*. Let us look back. . . . In May upon the death of Gen. Hooker was invited by county commissioners to take charge of the Register of Deeds office till an election should be made by the people which was not effected till the fifth trial, christmas day, as tomorrow's counting will probably show. The election has been attended with a vast deal of excitement. Until the last Swan has been a candidate, but he having withdrawn so that either Kellogg or Clark must succeed, each party fought for life and death. Clark was the workingmen's candidate. I provoked his friends excessively by squibbing him a while ago in the Courier under the signature of Janus, which called out a personal attack on me as the presumed author and which did them no good and me no hurt. Sam Parsons the alleged author, but no doubt Clark himself superintended it and perhaps Judd [the] Editor. However, they are beaten, routed horse, foot and dragoons, as they were at the State and Representative elections in November. This is the second year that I have had a great deal to do with elections, necessarily somewhat, having been reappointed Chairman of County Commitee by the National Republican Convention holden at Worcester.

I ought to mention that about the ninth of November I was one of a Committee with Kirkland, Hinckley, Hilyan, S. F. Lyman and George Shepherd, to go to Springfield to invite Clay to

Northampton. Mr. Bates went with us. After his arrival at Springfield, where his welcome was very cordial, he went out on the piazza of the second story of the Public House and bowed to the crowd, after which we of the Committee were introduced to him and I tendered him a formal invitation to Northampton. We dined with him and about thirty others and at six P.M. he went to the Town Hall filled to overflowing and was addressed by Judge Morris. His reply was about half an hour in length, touching upon the New England interests, his course on the Tariff last winter, with one or two palpable hits at the President. He did not seem to enter fully into the feelings of an excited orator, but occasionally gave us touches of his power. It was no time to compare him with Webster in his Worcester Convention speech, if it ever can be done. Judging from what I saw Webster is much the greatest man and quite as eloquent. The next day Springfield people escorted him to Millers (half way) where a Northampton cavalcade took him up and brought him on. Soon after starting from Miller's we were met by an omnibus full of ladies who had kept Mrs. Clay waiting at Smith's an hour or two for her husband. We reached the Mansion about three P.M. after considerable wetting, had a dinner and champagne of which some partook for several hours and in considerable quantities. Sunday evening was a sort of levee at the Mansion, so that our operations for elections the next day, caucus, etc., were much obstructed. A representative ticket, however, was agreed [upon] at my office against the workies, which succeeded with the exception of one who has always been a deadweight, John Wright. What was singular, the workies carried a great majority for their Governor (Allen) and their first Representative (Warner) and then lost their other three, one at a time, except the last; close balloting, great excitement, motion to adjourn to next day, not carried. Jonathan Strong and myself declared elected. Some cheering and clapping on our side. I being made Town Clerk after Hooker's death had to sit in the midst of it and record my own election, which really shocked my modesty.

Thursday, *January* 2, 1834. Started for Boston. Had Col. McKay, Rockwell and others for company. Next morning took the Mail stage and reached here [Boston] at midnight, just riding the old year out. Made some half way resolutions to do better the coming year just before midnight. Stop at the Marlboro' Room No. 18. Took off the wrong trunk from the stage, found it out just as I was going to bed and did not sleep so well for the discovery. Got up next morning to go to the stage office, met

[Alexis] Painter, a fellow passenger, and Representative from Cummington, who told me [he or who] had it in custody. Felt better and got changed, took breakfast and went to the State House. Members drew for seats by Counties. Clerk [1] opens a box, hands out the numbers rolled up with a bit of thread around them to such as stand by. They state the No. to the Messenger who presides in this business, he records it in a book containing the names and places of abode of the members, made up, of course, from newspaper returns, and the drawer keeps the number. My number did not carry me into the gallery but gave me a seat on the southerly or westerly side, third from the passage to the gallery against the wall. I changed it today for 303 facing the Speaker at the request of the Peru member,[2] who could not well face the light. The House was called to order by [Daniel] Messenger of Boston, the oldest member from Suffolk, according to usage. He asked the House if it was their pleasure to appoint a Committee to collect the returns or certificates of the Members to see if a quorum was present, which being carried and it being ordered by them that the Chair should appoint them, he appointed a Committee of five or seven, who collected the credentials, went out and returned saying that a quorum was present. A committee [was] then appointed to wait on the Governor and Council and tell him that the members were ready to be qualified. The Governor sent word back that he would attend when he got through with the Senate. He came in with Lieutenant [Governor] [3] and Council, when the House rose. He took the Speaker's [4] chair, Lieutenant on the right, bowed three or four times and sat down. Council seated in front of Speaker's chair. He then called upon those members constitutionally elected to rise and take the oaths prescribed by the Constitution. They rose; he then told them to repeat their names. All repeated at once. He then gave the three oaths to support the Constitution of Massachusetts, to discharge the duties of Representative and support the Constitution of the United States. The quakers were then called upon to affirm, ten or twelve in number. Several not in at the time were afterwards sworn in front of the Speaker's chair. The House being qualified, the Governor retired and the Chair asked the House if it was their pleasure to proceed to the choice of a Clerk. They signifying assent, a Committee

[1] Luther S. Cushing.

[2] Elisha Rockwell. In the *Rules and Orders* for 1834, Huntington has seat No. 123.

[3] Samuel T. Armstrong.

[4] William B. Calhoun.

was appointed by the Chair to collect, sort and count the votes. Cushing had every vote but one. The Chairman of that Committee waited upon him to his desk. *He* then took the voice of the House on the choice of a Speaker and appointed a Committee, naming them to the House one by one to collect, etc., the votes for a Speaker. He was somewhat agitated and forgot to ask the House how the Committee should be nominated. Calhoun was chosen by every vote but one and made a short speech. He read a letter addressed to the Speaker, from J. Q. Adams declining to be a candidate for Governor in the Legislature. It is said the Anti-masons were quite as much surprised at this movement as the Nationals, but it was just like Johnny Q. Last evening the Nationals had a caucus without speeches and without spirit and appointed a Committee of three from each County to prepare and distribute votes for "National" Senators. . . . Little business done in the House today, because the Senatorial Committee on senatorial elections had not made their report as to vacancies, etc. Eliph. Williams says he battled the Antis two hours in the Senate as to the Colrain [1] returns, which being rejected by the Governor and House made Wells elected by the people. The Grand Lodge sent in a surrender of their charter, with a long communication, hitting the Antis hard now and then, which was laid on the table. One Ruggles [2] then moved a special Committee, because the party to which he belonged were insulted in it. Out of order — withdrawn. This surrender gives the Antis another blow on the head. Gen. Hoyt [3] winked while it was reading, as if he would crack his spectacles, and pulled his beard desperately. It is to be printed and there will probably be a squall in the House yet.

January 4th. Saturday morning. . . . House and Senate went into Convention at twelve for the choice of Senators where there were vacancies. The House rise and pull off their hats when they enter and the Senators sit in front of the Speaker's desk. The President of the Senate [4] takes the Speaker's chair, with him on his left and the Clerk of the Senate [5] in front, and presides. He proceeded to nominate Committees to collect, sort and count the votes, two from the Senate and three from the House on each. As fast as one Committee got through another was appointed for the next county who were instructed when they went out to wait upon the other Committee and get their votes. The Speaker

[1] In *Rules and Orders* Joel Farley and Samuel Pierce are the Colrain representatives.

[2] Micah H. Ruggles of Troy.

[3] Epaphras Hoyt of Deerfield.

[4] Benjamin T. Pickman.

[5] Charles Calhoun.

gives the President a list of Committee men for the House each time. About the time the last Committee finished the first had got ready to report. The whole ballotting for six counties did not take more than two hours. Our Oliver Warner has been active in forming a coalition with the Jackson men and Anti-Masons, who, with the workingmen of whom is Oliver, united their forces against the Nationals. Bawling Anti-Masons, who pretend that it is a point of conscience with them to refuse voting for a Mason, yesterday voted for Mason-Jackson Senators for Hampden, one of them an adhering Royal Arch.[1] The opposition ticket was headed "Antimasonic Republican ticket."

Sunday, *January* 5. Snow storm. Yesterday exceedingly cold. Went . . . to the House. Committee appointed to report on the best mode of electing governor, the journal not settling the question whether one should be ballotted for at a time or two. Adjourned to eleven Monday before twelve. Went into the Senate. Saw Mr. Blake,[2] congratulated him on his election. Said he was disinclined to be elected — doubted. . . . Paid for the *Atlas* up to the first of this month; meant to have stopped it, but the Editor was too civil and gentlemanly. . . . Invited to dine today at Joshua Blake's and to tea at Mrs. Cabot's. Shall not do as Fordyce Hubbard did here the other day, sent word that it is against my principles to dine out Sunday. Mem. The State Museum advertises that members of Legislature can attend through the session by paying for one admission. *Admittance 25 cents.*

Monday night, *January* 6th, 1834. Went to the Stone Chapel yesterday forenoon. Heard Palfrey.[3] "What is that to thee, follow me," addressed to busy-bodies; attempt at wit and sarcasm. Splendid interior of church. . . . House at eleven. Nothing done except that Committee reported on the mode of selecting two candidates to send to the Senate; that they should be ballotted for separately; that a Committee of three should receive and collect and count the votes at a table [in] front of Speaker's chair; that Members' names should be called and checked by the Speaker as they vote. Adjourned at twelve. Went to Charles' counting room and got a ticket for Mrs. Wood's[4] benefit. . . .

Tuesday evening, 7th. Last evening went to the Theatre.

[1] According to *Rules and Orders* the Senators from the Hampden District were Patrick Boies and James Byers.

[2] George Blake of Boston.

[3] John Gorham Palfrey.

[4] Juliana (Westray) Wood, wife of William B. Wood. The Benefit was at the Tremont Theatre and the second piece was the Opera "Clari."

Heard Mrs. Wood at her benefit. Best singer known. Figaro, first opera, silly. Clair, the after piece, written by Howard Payne, an American, the most moral play I ever heard. Clair deserts parents in humble life under promise of marriage from a Duke or Count; finding him false [she] makes her escape, returns, meets her parents; father refuses to be reconciled; the Duke comes upon them in pursuit, offers marriage and the father joins their hands. The scene between father and child one of the most affecting I ever saw represented. A great many men in tears; the ladies bore it with a great deal of philosophy. Quaere: was this because they looked with less indulgence upon Clair's elopement than the male sex? Barre [Barry] acted the father. In Figaro the page was represented by Mrs. Smith in tight flesh-colored small clothes exposed above the knee, from which it was apparent that women's nether limbs are much larger in proportion to their size than male's. This was the most indecent thing I saw. Today in the House Rev. E. T. Taylor,[1] Methodist, of the Seamen's Chapel, a Unitarian, was chosen Chaplain of the House. . . . Standing Committees were appointed. I was put on the Committee on Bills in the third Reading, Baker of Amherst, Chairman.[2] An important Committee, as they have to revise, correct and critically examine the bearing of all bills before passed for engrossment. Rather complimentary to a young new man, it is said. Attended a County caucus for the nomination of Counsellor for our District. Oliver Warner and Col. [Elisha] Edwards had been very busy for the working men and by the aid of the Belchertown[3] Anti-Masons drummed up fourteen votes for Sylvester Judd, which gave him a majority over David Mack, Jr., who held the office last year and who by usage and courtesy was entitled to it again. [Eliphalet] Williams and [John] Leland very indignant at the insult offered Mack. [Osmyn] Baker called a Meeting of the Nationals tomorrow on the same subject to do it over again. Oliver, working man, moved that Judd's name be reported to the *National* caucus.

Wednesday evening. Went to House this morning. Presented petition of Jos. Lyman et als. for Mt. Holyoke bridge. Felt rather cheap. If a man is located as I am, so that members have to turn their heads in any number when they cry out " Mr. Speaker,"

[1] Edward Thompson Taylor (1793–1871).

[2] Osmyn Baker, David Roberts of Salem, Norman T. Leonard of Westfield and William J. Hubbard of Boston were the other members of that committee.

[3] The Representatives from Belchertown were William Bridgeman, Justus Forward and Daniel Phelps.

it is rather embarrassing to see a hundred heads flying round on their pivots, pointing their eyes at you like so many double barrelled muskets. At eleven, an assigned hour, the House began to ballot for Governor. The Clerk called the member's names and No. by divisions and checked each. Took about two hours. Whole No. 547. A choice, 274. Davis, 327, Morton, 199, Adams, 18, Allen 3, blanks, 9. Afternoon session, for a second candidate to be sent up: whole, 357, nec[essary] 179. Morton, 263, Allen, 64, blanks, 26. I voted for Allen, as I did not feel at liberty acting in a public capacity to cast a blank or to refuse to vote. . . . Had a convention of Nationals from Hampshire to nominate Counsellor at which seventeen were present, who all voted for David Mack, Jr. The whole delegation 33, including 2 Senators. Judd at the general caucus had fourteen only, so we beat Oliver again. Went to a caucus of Nationals this evening. Continued in the important office of Chairman of vote distributors for our County. [Caleb] Cushing made a speech denying upon authority the suggestion made by Washington newspaper letter writers, that Daniel Webster was about to play second fiddle to Van Buren and intimating that the Administration men at Washington might yet support him for the Presidency. All a humbug. Harry Chapman [1] was called to the Chairman and after a private confab with him returned to his place and responded in a few words to Mr. C. Was introduced by Chapman to [David] Roberts of Salem, who was a while chum with William [Huntington] in College. Appears to be a pleasant fellow, with frightful whiskers and steel bow spectacles. Belongs to our Committee on Bills in third Reading, with Leonard of Westfield, Hubbard of Boston and Baker of Amherst, Chairman. Two Alarms of fire today. Atmosphere in House horrible this P.M. — many headaches. Boies, Senator from Hampden, came here this evening. Saw also in the House today Levi Parker, Dep. Sheriff, my old host when I kept Westford Academy, who is a member from Cambridge. Called him *Penniman,* though I recollected the man perfectly. . . . Went to the editor of the *Atlas* this evening and gave him a statement of the doings of our Caucus which will falsify and expose the Anti-masonic statement and suggestion in the *Advocate* of this Morning.

Thursday evening, 9th. . . . Went to the House and despatched some newspapers to Northampton. Rev. E. T. Taylor opened the session for the first time with a prayer, rather queer but in good spirit. Ballotted for Lieut. Governor. Armstrong and Lathrop

[1] Representative for Greenfield.

chosen. Lost an opportunity of going to the Senate on a Committee from the House communicating the result of the Governor's ballot, by being in the Senate Chamber, where I went for the purpose of hearing the same message delivered. Committee go within the circle and look exceedingly cheap. Glad I was off. Senate proceeded to ballot and gave Davis 30, Morton 4, 3 Blanks. This was pretty much the whole business. The Board of Overseers of Harvard College met in S[enate] Chamber. James T. Austin and Alex. Everett disposed to enquire into the formality of the proceedings of the meeting which gave Jackson a degree of LL.D. A committee was appointed to report a fortnight hence. This afternoon went with E. Williams, Wade [1] and Jon. Strong [2] to see the Navy Yard. Saw the *Vermont* under cover, also the *Boston* and the *Columbus* dismantled and inhabited. U. S. soldiers on guard at entrance where we took a ticket. Got a piece of old Ironsides — *Constitution* — oldest vessel in the Navy, now in dock to be repaired. Called at Mrs. Cabot's. . . . Smoked a segar with Mr. Cabot. George Blake and George B. B[lake?] came in. The former discoursed largely on politics. Says he is rather inclined to go with the Nullifiers than for Van Buren for the next President, though he considers it one of the nicest political questions that ever occurred. Went to a caucus last evening. Caleb Cushing gave us a lecture on political subjects. Said we must stick to Clay, if he was a candidate. Denounced Van Buren, Jackson and Kitchen Cabinet; scouted the idea that Webster would play second part.

Saturday night, *January* 11th. Yesterday morning called to see Watts and found him the same old fellow. Dined at Geo. Blake's after being taken up all the morning in the House choosing Counsellors, in which the Nationals prevailed again by a handsome vote. . . . Called upon Capt. Kit this morning and walked down to his brother's store with him. He is making interest with Bancroft to get me appointed Judge of Probate by [Governor] Davis. Banky would not do it if he could, but I am greatly obliged to C. for his good intentions. If there was the least probability of my getting it I would use some exertions myself. Nothing of consequence in the House today.

Tuesday evening, *January* 14. Sunday Morning I went with Russell of Princeton and [Increase] Sumner of Great Barrington to the Seaman's Chapel to hear Mr. Taylor, but heard Mr. Barret. He preached in the Methodist style, from memory,

[1] Edward Wade of Malden.
[2] Jonathan Strong of Northampton.

I suppose. It is a fine place to work upon the feelings of visitors. The interior is exceedingly plain and poor looking. The sailors excite your sympathy by their coarse pea jackets, checked shirts and helpless looking condition. Surrounded as you are by so many homeless wanderers, who go there to hear of a home in heaven which they may not soon reach, to hear the prayers offered for the loss of an only child by a forlorn wife, whose husband is on the deep and whose first intelligence when he returns will almost break his heart, it is of itself enough to throw you into tears. I was so affected myself at looking round me and indulging the thoughts that the scene suggested that I could not for the life of me keep from wiping my eyes. . . . In the evening went to Handel and Hayden's oratorio and heard the christian dispensation set to music. The choruses in the Messiah far surpassed anything I had ever heard or conceived. Two or three of the solos excellent. [Monday] in the P.M. went before the Bridge Committee for Mt. Holyoke Bridge petitioners and made such statements as I could without instructions. E. Williams, a stockholder in the N. Bridge was there, peeping about, putting in a word now and then, though he says he shall not oppose it. . . . Today little done in the House except to present petitions and Anti-masonic memorials.

Wednesday night, *January* 15th. [In the House] Mr. [William] Hilliard of Cambridge made a short speech on the temperance question proposing to give final jurisdiction on the subject to Towns. An order sent from the Senate, appointing a grand Committee to investigate the Affairs of the Commonwealth Bank and enquire what contracts it may have made with the Treasury Department of the U. S., and whether inconsistent with its charter, created some discussion. Leonard of Westfield (Jackson) proposed a postponement of one week. Cushing of N[ewburyport] opposed it in a few words — lost. Cushing then proposed an amendment which opened the whole deposit question; opposed by [Abel] Cushing of Dorchester, [Elnathan P.] Hathaway of Freetown and [Samuel M.] Mckay[1] and [John C.] Gray of Boston, the two last Nationals, and not carried. Made the session a little more interesting.

Friday morning, [16th]. Yesterday morning . . . to House Considerable debate upon a bill entitled, An Act for the more speedy decision of Civil Actions, providing that a Judge of C. C. P., where the debt or damage shall not exceed fifty dollars, shall try the case without the intervention of a Jury, if both

[1] Of Pittsfield.

parties request it. Advocated by [William] Austin[1] and [Ebenezer] Mosely of Newburyport. Opposed by Col. [Henry W.] Dwight[2] and others.

Sunday evening, [18th]. Friday . . . went into Supreme Court and heard Fletcher a while, one of the best Jury lawyers in Boston. He makes no attempt at display, has a clear method and, what is the great secret of the success of such men, repeats the same idea in a thousand shapes, till he is sure to fix it on the minds of the Jury.

[Monday, January 19.] In the afternoon commenced sitting on Marblehead election. McKay Chairman, [Henry] Chapman of Greenfield, [Charles] Bemis of Watertown and myself, and this afternoon [Tuesday] [Thomas] Wetmore.[3] Two Chairmen, one by appointment and Chapman by assumption. Main question, whether there were illegal voters admitted sufficient to change the result of the election in returning the present members. The sitting members are Jackson men.[4] Great and bitter feeling between the parties. Sit from three to half past seven; this morning from nine to half past eleven; this P.M. from three to about five, when we adjourned till Monday next to hear a law question argued on the competency of a witness to testify who does not believe in a future state of rewards and punishments. A question came up this morning whether a person who voted illegally by his own account could be asked in cross-examination which party he voted with. Committee, all but myself, ruled that he was not obliged to answer, because the right of suffrage was sacred. I disagreed and this afternoon the sitting members by Robinson renewed the subject and the Committee came on my ground. We never could settle the question without this rule, for it is an essential part of the case to make out. At twelve the House went into Convention. The old Governor[5] and Council and the elect came in soon and, being seated, the President of the Senate stated that John Davis, having been elected, etc., and signified his acceptance and readiness to be qualified, asked the Convention if it was their pleasure that the oaths should be then administered. They held up hands, when the President proceeded to administer, etc. Then the Secretary of the Committee made proclamation. He then proceeded in the

[1] Of Charlestown.
[2] Of Stockbridge.
[3] Of Boston.
[4] *Rules and Orders* gives Ezekiel Darling, James Goodwin, John Quiver, Frederick Robinson and William Widger, Jr.
[5] Levi Lincoln.

same manner with the Lieut. Governor and afterwards with the Council, except that the Council were not proclaimed. Each subscribed the oaths in turn. Gov. Davis then took the chair and read a very sensible message and withdrew, the old Governor following, a discharge of cannon being given about that time per order of Governor L[incoln] through his Adjutant General, in a blazing manifesto issued rather to shoot the old Governor out than the new one in. Message laid on the table and ordered to be printed. . . . This evening also looked over the laws establishing Court of Sessions, Leonard of Westfield having reported a bill giving the election to the people. The first draught was referred to me as one of the Committee on bills in third reading. I found several inconsistencies in it and reported it to the House to be taken into a new draught which they voted, much to the annoyance of poor Leonard, who worked all yesterday P.M., and evening, and this morning at it.

January 24. Friday night. Wednesday forenoon and afternoon, and most of the day Thursday, when not engaged in the House, I was hearing Dunlap's argument in defence of Abner Kneeland the Editor of *The Investigator,* deistical and atheistical paper, for an article in that paper offending against the Statute against Blasphemy. Dunlap spent about three days in the defence and went over the whole field of history, politics, religion and constitutional law, arguing on the absurdity and unconstitutionality of the law and taking the ground that Christianity was no part of the Common Law, and that, if it was, we had not adopted it. [Thursday evening.] County Commissioners bill, giving the election to the people, passed to third reading by a great vote, after considerable debate. Probably the Senate will stop it, as they have done twice before.

Sunday [26] morning went to the New Jerusalem or Swedenborgian Church. Services commenced by the congregation rising and looking over the "Book of Worship," while the Clergyman reads a selection from the prophets or some part of O. Testament. Then they turn to a simple Chant at the latter part of the book, in which all that can sing join without a choir. The Clergyman then reads at length from the Gospels, the people sitting; then, they kneeling, he repeats the Lord's prayer; then another reading and chant, reading and chant and sermon. I believe this is the order. The sermon from the words "In those days came John the Baptist, etc., three or four verses, to which the preacher attempted to give a spiritual meaning. John, the truth, days, states of mind, wilderness, the natural heart. Camel's hair and

leather girdle the coarse manner in which truth strikes the unregenerate heart, etc. — highly allegorical, somewhat ingenious and rather spiritual. Worship exceedingly calm, tranquil and devotional, and congregation very respectably looking. . . . [Friday, 31.] went to James Mills' Club. Present, Benjamin Reed, Harding E. Loring, Fay, Dublois, Col. Baker, Dr. Howe, Willard, Esq., Mason, Tom Bradford, Hedge, and one or two others. Splendid table and capital wines. Scolloped oysters, fried oysters, raw oysters, partridge, ham, olives and salad. Champagne, Sherry, Madeira and Claret. Segars. Principal topics: Hooper and Jones' duel, with metaphysical discussions, interspersed only with remarks upon shooting and fishing. Pleasant enough on the whole. . . . [Saturday.] In legislature we have had every day till this nothing debated but anti-masonry. The Committee on Judiciary, having stolen a march on Anti-masonic petitions, reported a bill against *extra-judicial oaths*. Ruggles of Troy, the leading anti-mason, proposed to amend by inserting " masonic " etc. This was objected to by [Albert D.] Foster and [Charles] Allen of Worcester (anti) and [Samuel M.] McKay of Pittsfield, neutral. I advocated the amendment, on the ground that Masonry was extinct for all practical purposes; that there could be no doubt what was intended, and it was as well to say so in plain language; and that I was a Mason and should never renounce, but wished to put the anti-masons clearly in the wrong, etc. McKay rose in reply and ended with saying that he liked a straight forward [course] in legislation. As soon as I could get the chance I told the House that I liked a straight forward course as well as any man and meant to pursue it, but the question arose what is a straight forward course? If it was waiting to ascertain the sense of the House before rising in debate and, having ascertained, then rising to speak with that sense (McK. is famous for this) I did not wish to pursue it; but if, etc., etc. This got the laugh on McK. He got up as pale as a ghost and said, as I spoke after him he wished to know whether I meant him or myself. I told him most assuredly I did not mean myself. This got another laugh on him, so that on the whole I got out of the scrape pretty well. Several of the members told me there never was anything better applied. The debate ever since has been very angry and disorderly, and the more that has been said the worse the anti-masons have appeared. The Jackson men are fomenting this quarrel to keep the state parties split up. I am for giving them pretty much all they ask. Today the bill for making Towns districts for the Registry of Deeds was discussed at

length. Leonard, a Jackson lawyer of Westfield, got up and imputed dishonest motives to the lawyers in opposing the bill. At dinner table [Charles] Hudson [1] spoke to him about his insinuations. I told Hudson that Burke says that he who accuses mankind of corruption is sure to convict one, and it might be so with a lawyer who attacked his own profession. Poor Leonard shut his mouth for the rest of the day. [Elisha] Rockwell accuses me of Burking him. If it was the first time the puppy had made the insinuation there would be some excuse for him. He has been jibed by several of the other boarders and feels confoundedly ashamed of himself. Glad he has some shame.

Monday, *February* 3. This morning had the broad rimmed wheel law under discussion, in which Col. Dwight talked about the sacrilegiousness of being obliged to exchange the vehicles that have come down to us from our Ancestors. He has great sway in the House, in spite of his habits. This P.M. went up to hear the investigation of the Anti-masonic Committee in the Hall. The Antis enjoy it finely. It is really worth while, for the sake of seeing so many happy countenances. O mortal. This evening been reading Miss Martineau's Vanderput and Snock.

[Monday, 8th.] was discussed a bill originating in Berkshire taxing the income of capital without the State and proceeding upon the ground that the Constitution does not permit the principal so situated to be taxed. Advocated by Col. [Henry W.] Dwight, opposed by Newburyport [Caleb] Cushing and [John C.] Gray of Boston. Rejected by a vote almost unanimously. Plurality bill discussed one or two days and deferred to next Tuesday. A bill exempting minors from taxation in order to reduce the number of the House of Representatives, opposed by [Henry] Chapman, [Elisha] Rockwell and myself, rejected. Not all satisfied with myself. Did not come easy to speak, though the first time I thought it very pleasant. . . . Friday evening went to Warren theatre (Fred Hill's benefit) with [Julius] Rockwell of Pittsfield, [Truman] Clarke of Walpole and [Samuel] Holman [Jr.,] of Salem. Clark is a queer honest Yankee and clever as the day is long.

Tuesday evening, *February* 11th. Sunday evening called at George Blake's with Col. [Henry W.] Dwight. He took the Colonel for a National Republican and gave us the essence of a speech on the removal of the Deposits that he intends to deliver tomorrow. . . . [Monday] evening conned over a few remarks on the plurality bill which I did not deliver today as there was no dis-

[1] A Senator from the Worcester District.

cussion. Bill rejected. This morning received a letter from Dr. Flint saying that a petition for me as Judge of Probate had been mailed at Hadley, and another letter from Christopher Clarke giving me the names of certain individuals that he had procured for the like purpose. They are Samuel Clarke, Simeon Butler, Giles C. Kellogg, Nathan Storrs (that's queer, I ran him down as representative last fall), Theodore Strong (queer again, I never spoke to him a dozen times), H. J. Hooker, John Clarke, [I. H. Butler, Stephen Brewer] (funny, I concluded that they — two last — had gone for Forbes of course), Samuel L. Hinckley, C. Clarke himself, J. B. Vinton (huzza for the rum party), Nathan Dikeman (he has accused me of opposing his election to every office always), Jerry Stickney, with whose millinery wife mine had a little blow-up, Mr. Parsons, J. Alleyn Strong, Saml. Whitemarsh, John Frink, Jr., Wm. Swan, (whom I deserted as Candidate for Register of Deeds last fall in favor of Kellogg and who had accused me wrongly of using him as a tool till Kellogg could get strength enough to beat Chauncey Clarke. Good Christian, he renders good for evil). Col. Dwight told me [he] had received some letters from N[orthampton] in my behalf and that he would see the Governor this evening. Things look better, but, after all, all the County delegation here are pledged for other candidates and they will probably carry the day for Conkey. Rather provoking, but I am none the less obliged to the above good fellows and wish them the best of Heaven's blessings.

Wednesday evening, *February* 19th. . . . yesterday spoke against the new attachment bill just long enough to get reported in the papers, mainly at wife's request. She seems to think my constituents will not be satisfied without. House listened patiently enough. Nothing to talk there after a fashion and I never had any practice as a debater. . . . Sunday dined at Winthrop Place and attended Church in morning at King's Chapel. Heard young Sergeant. "Quench not the spirit." He violated the precept by his manner. . . . Thursday or Friday P.M. rode over to see the India Rubber factory, where all sorts of garments, gloves, hose, caps and factory belts are beginning to be made. Ladies Prunella shoes, etc., etc. Friday night went into the Pit to hear Fanny Kemble, a niece of the far famed Mrs. Siddons and her father play the Stranger. She has a bad mouth, awkward contortions, beautiful eyes and good figure. In unexcited passages affected, in high wrought scenes the very perfection of acting. Voice thrilling. Some suppose her married. Last night went again. Moore's tragedy of Gamester and Katharine and Petruchio

— last overacted. First not equal to Stranger. Kemble died too hard. The prayers impious almost. [Benjamin] Sheldon, the Berkshire Counseller, told me yesterday P.M. that Governor Davis had nominated Conkey for Judge of Probate. Felt a momentary induration of the heart. Davis is a slouch. Forbes resigned Master in Chancery to make his way clearer probably. Kit Clarke and Dr. Flint, I suppose, will feel better than if Forbes had it and their hostility to him had something to do with their efforts for me. Doolittle too will feel bad. Misery will have company. Confound [David] Mack [, Jr.,] and all his crew. Orthodoxy is at the bottom of the whole of it. Let me recollect that Col. [Henry W.] Dwight has interested himself a good deal for me, speaking both to the Governor and Mack. . . . Never mind. Let it pass. I shan't ask for another office till I know another vacancy.

Thursday evening, *February* 27th. . . . Today have had the resolutions up in the House on the removal of the deposits. [Caleb] Cushing of Newburyport made an excellent speech. Same subject yesterday and day before and no question taken yet. [Ezekiel] Darling of Marblehead, an old sailor, made an administration speech for the benefit of the ladies in the Gallery. Figure of leech and young lady, ramming poor people into a two inch mortar and jamming them all to pieces, blowing them up and their souls only flying out at the touch-hole. Said he did not pretend to speak the English language, had only a sort of dialect to tell when he was hungry and dry. Aristocracy not content with brown bread and pork and beef. Wanted whip sullabubs.

Sunday, *March* 9th. Last week legislature engaged on imprisonment for debt bill, passed, and involvent bill, rejected. . . . Engaged upon currency. Mr. Cabot says it is his own opinion, the better opinion in Boston, and well understood in New York that the U. S. Bank for the last month have had it in their power with perfect safety to themselves to relieve the pressure in the money market and that they are now unnecessarily afflicting the community. He quotes "Tom Ward," agent of the Barings in London. He says further that Nathan Appleton at first refused to sign the late protest or memorial from Boston, attributing the distress principally to the removal of the deposits. He further says that the National Republicans, considering this a favorable opportunity to acquire the ascendancy, have borne and suffered a great deal silently and willingly from the Bank. That the Bank's proportion of specie to circulation is three times greater now than it has been for any previous time. Exchange has been very low on England and they might have imported millions of

specie at a great profit. And all this goes to show in the negative to the late resolutions was justifiable, and which some of my constituents foamed and fretted about so much. The impudent little Atwill goes so far in his last paper as to charge me with being "in the market." I wrote a long letter to Butler last week, explaining my reasons and authorising him to show the letter, if he pleased. The flurry arises from Oliver Warner having written to his brother Solomon, that I had put on the "Jackson collar." Solomon blazons it abroad among my friends and my opponents use it for their own purposes and to plague my supporters. All which will defeat me of my election of Town Clerk a week from tomorrow. . . .

October 8, 1834. Long pause. Wife had a fine boy September 22d. born about seven P.M. The last page alludes to the wrath of my constituents. Under the operation of it I was turned out of the office of Town Clerk the day but one after I got home last March. My vote on those obnoxious resolutions, offensive as it was to the Nationals here, might be justified on the principle of representative and constituent. For at the Town Meeting the fall before, S. C. Allen, the working men's candidate for Governor, who had come out against the U. S. Bank, received fifty more votes than Davis, and the vote for Governor was the largest vote polled that day. The vote for Rep[resentative]s, being later in the day, was much smaller. I am better and better satisfied that the bank ought not to be rechartered and of course with my vote against it. I declined the office of Chairman of County Committee before I came home and suggested Butler, who has since declined. As for the Editor of the *Courier*, I have not spoken to him since my return till this morning, when he came into my office with Butler to ascertain the amount of a demand left with me and put in suit, some of his creditors having taken the opportunity during his temporary absence to levy attachments. He told my father on his making inquiries of him why he wrote the the paragraph about me that he did; that he only expressed the feeling of the people here and that Judge Lyman and Eben Hunt both told him he had done perfectly right. Father was so much affected towards Judge Lyman & Co. on this, that for several Sundays he did not come over to meeting. Judge Lyman has since said that there was no truth in the statement. As for Eben Hunt, he is not *sane* and therefore not responsible. . . . The first of April I began to occupy my new office in Vinton's new block at $40.00 per annum, with Forbes for a neighbor and Farnum Engineer of the land in the rear room. Bancroft (George) has just come out with an address to some of us calling on him for

his principles, as he is a Candidate for Congress. *Ad captandum* it is and good, but whether he practises upon his principles, quaere.

November 12. Wednesday. The elections are over and I retire into private life. The whigs have prevailed in Massachusetts and in Northampton; the working men, anti-masons and Jackson men are silenced by a majority of about 200. I have not been very active, except by writing one or two articles in the *Courier* against Oliver Warner, a man whose political character I have so little respect for and who so ambitiously fed the flames that raged here on account of my vote last Winter, that I could not resist the opportunity. The editor of the *Courier* whom I have hardly spoken to since I came from Boston, volunteered his columns. Lewis Strong came out with a communication signed "Hawley" Saturday before election, in which he took strong ground against Warner and went so far as to say of him (a member of his own Church) that on the score of piety there were hundreds of men in the community, vastly more unpretending, whose claims were superior to his. Sunday evening there was a caucus. Forbes made a long and rather tedious harangue. Dewey spilt over some of his dish water on the heads of the crowd and Bates closed with a powerful caucus speech, in which he pretty much used what there was left of Oliver. The working men had issued a "huge paw" bill and an address to the electors, signed by Charles Douglas, Oliver Warner and Elisha Edwards, containing principles subversive of the whole social fabric. One phrase in it was, "All men are tyrants by nature. God made them so." This, Bates said, was a libel on the deity — infidelity — that God made all things very good and man among the rest. Good sound Unitarian doctrine this, and perhaps after all the paragraph in question is more calvinistic than deistical. Another position was that sudden conversions in *religion* and politics were not to be relied upon. Then they talk about the pale dirty faces of factory children, the *venial* offences for which man may be sent to State's prison for life, etc., all which was most thoroughly cut up by Bates. Forbes was the lawyer chosen representative. Sam. F. Lyman was on the nominating Committee and probably got F. nominated, though he told me not two days before that he had told Atwill, in answer to a request to write for his paper, that "he did not know as he had anything to hope for from the present dynasty." Poor George Bancroft came out with a long letter for the working men, having been named as a Candidate for Congress, and got terribly cut up in a communication signed "New England" by George Ashmun.

I had conversations with Sam. F. Lyman, Samuel L. Hinckley,

Dewey, John Clarke and Frink, about being a candidate for re-election, they professing to be desirous of it, but doubting whether it could be effected. Sam Lyman wanted I should authorise him to say I declined, in case he found my name would not go. This I refused, saying that I had been slandered last Spring and nothing would so effectively refute it as a re-election. John Clarke got S. F. put on the nominating Committee of 13 on purpose, he says, to give him a chance to put his professions of friendship to the test. S. F. L[yman] made no exertion. I told him and the others to be sure that I did not wish them to make any sacrifices for me, or to regard my feelings, and they did not. On the whole I am glad of the issue. I have not got whiggism enough in me to come up to the spirit of the time, and a latent streak of radicalism will break out in spite of me when I act politically. I suppose some of the stiff aristocrats here cannot forget my order introduced last Winter to abolish the office of Attorney General and my joining Judd, Flint, Chauncy Clark and Sam. Parsons and John Wright, in a note to Bancroft for his opinions this fall, they confess, did not please them.

September 14. . . . Wednesday, Wm. Huntington went to Boston to attend his last course of medical lectures. He was very anxious to set out immediately on his missionary tour among the slaves at the South to enquire into their condition, but concluded to postpone till he could get a degree of M.D.

Tuesday evening, *November* 25. . . . Friday evening the Whigs had a great jollification at the Mansion House (Lyman & Wright's) which I did not attend though invited. . . . Sunday Colman of Deerfield preached here; could not suppress in the pulpit his feelings excited by the treatment his letter to one of the working men has received from the Editor of the Boston *Courier* and some others.

From Edward Everett.

(*Private*)

Charlestown, Massachusetts, 29 October, 1835.

My dear Sir, — I have to thank you for your paper of yesterday. With respect to the query which you have appended to the words he is "against the property basis of the Senate," I would observe, that I have somewhere, but I cannot recollect where expressed myself a good deal at length, on that subject. In the *N[orth] A[merican] Review* for October 1826, p. 314, I have, in brief, expressed my concurrence with Burke, in the course of

argument employed by him, against that feature in the first revolutionary Constitution of France, which corresponds with our Senatorial basis. I there say "Mr. Burke argues against the principle, which forms the basis of the Senatorial representation of Massachusetts, with great vigor, and as, we think, with great success; altho' some of his arguments against that principle, in the French republican constitutions, do not, we own, apply to us."

I take the liberty to enclose you a newspaper, which contains a speech made by me, on the eve of the last year's election, relative to the professed principles of the workingmen's party. I am, Dear Sir, with respect, Faithfully Yours,

E. EVERETT.

P.S. I have always disdained that kind of political success, which proceeds from *mere* party association and support, and, as every one knows, I came forward in public life, after the ancient political divisions of the State had been, by the leaders of the People, formally merged. But if I am such a dangerous *Aristocrat*, as is alleged, it is somewhat remarkable, that I should have been five times elected to Congress, by very great majorities in the Middlesex district, the very seat and headquarters, in former times, of the democracy of the Commonwealth, and that of my first and steadiest friends a good portion were the neighbors, and the political and personal friends of Governor Gerry. I make this remark to you in the confidence invited by your query.

FROM GEORGE BANCROFT.

SPRINGFIELD, January 26, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR, — Are you willing to try and sell my pew in the Unitarian Church to Mr. Church, or any other person? and charge me a commission for doing it? He ought to own a pew; and that, being a very good one, apprized at $150. ought to bring from $125. to $150.

I have truly a dozen times been on the point of writing you a line on politics. I cannot but think, that events are fast developing themselves, which must satisfy the people, that Mr. Webster is not virtually a candidate. The Whig leaders here are strenuous against Van Buren, and prefer White.[1] But they will be left in a woeful minority. As I know your opinion to be in favor of Mr. V. B. rather than White, I would ask, whether next summer you would

[1] Hugh Lawson White (1773–1840).

be disposed to print in your paper a few successive communications in the form of Appeals to the Candid, in favor of Mr. V. B.? Of course to be written with moderation and candor.

Buckingham of the *Boston Courier* invited me to do it for him, and promised [to print] any thing I would send. But I did not care to accept his offer.

I am much your debtor for having once or twice defended me from foolish personal attacks.

I beg to be kindly remembered to Mrs. Huntington and am Very truly yours,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

FROM DANIEL WEBSTER.

WASHINGTON, February 20, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have received your letter of the 15th, and thank you for the friendly sentiments which it evinces. It is singular enough, that Mr. Pomeroy should be entirely correct, in so many particulars, and yet altogether wrong as to the main fact. Doubtless, it is mere mistaken recollection, as I think I remember him as a respectable and worthy man. What he says of myself and brother, as to age, college standing, etc., etc., is all accurate. I dare say he will remember the names of Bracket, Clarke, Gilman, Herbert, and others, all intimate associates of mine, and I believe all Masons.[1]

If I mistake not, Mr. Moses Davis, with whom I boarded, at some period of my college life, and who was, at that time, editor and publisher of the *Dartmouth Gazette,* was a Mason also. All these circumstances conspiring have misled Mr. Pomeroy's memory.

Though it was very fashionable, at that time, and in that place, to become Masons, neither my brother nor myself ever joined any lodge. How it happened, that we failed to go with so many of our associates, in this particular, it were easy to tell, but it would be beyond the purpose of your inquiry.

I am exceedingly sorry that any worthy and good men should be hurt by my letter to the Anti-Masons of Pennsylvania. I hope, however, they will do me the justice to believe, that I have expressed only my honest and sincere opinions.

Please to make my respects to Mr. Pomeroy, and do not let him suppose that I feel any unkindness towards him, on account

[1] Joseph Warren Brackett, Benjamin Clark, Tristram Gilman and George Herbert — all members of the class of 1800 at Dartmouth College.

of the mistake, into which he has led you. This letter is not designed for publication, of course; but as you may happen to meet with political friends, who are Masons, you may communicate its contents in conversation, if you find it necessary, in order to remove false impressions. I should be very unwilling to be thought to have acted so disingenuously, as to have kept back the fact, of having been a Mason, if such fact had existed.

Will you please send me your paper? Very respectfully your friend and obedient servant,

DAN'L WEBSTER.

FROM EDWARD EVERETT.

BOSTON, 29 April, 1837.

DEAR SIR, — I have your favor of the 27th enclosing a representation in favor of Mr. Dewey's [1] appointment which will receive the most respectful consideration.

I notice, with satisfaction, your remark that my course on the Compensation Resolve is warmly approved by several intelligent persons with whom you have conversed. I have seen it stated in some of the papers, I know not how correctly, that when my Message was under debate, you stated that the Exercise of the Veto power ought to be confined to constitutional cases, and that the reasons assigned by me were insufficient.

It is not, of course, necessary to say to you, that no such limitation is prescribed by the Constitution. None such has been established by the practice of the National and State Governments. To confine this power to cases, where *the letter* of the Constitution is violated, would be to render it almost nugatory. In fact, I think, the proposition, that the Governor is bound to approve and sign *any* law, however mischievous, impolitic, and otherwise objectionable — provided the Constitution is not in terms transcended — is one which, on calm reconsideration, you would not pledge yourself to maintain.

Supposing this doctrine abandoned, and the matter brought down to one of sufficient reasons, it becomes a question which admits difference of opinion. You, I regret to hear, with most, perhaps all, my friends in the two houses, differed from me. This grieves me, and has led me to searching re-examination of the subject; the result of which has been to establish and fortify my own mind, in the conclusion to which I came. The reasons given or indicated by me, were,

[1] Charles Augustus Dewey (1793–1866), who was appointed in this year a Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, XXI. 195.

1st. That there was no money in the treasury: an all sufficient reason of itself.

2d. No authority granted to borrow any. This defect the Legislature, profiting by the information contained in my much censured message, remedied the next day after the final passage of the resolve.

3d. That if the money were borrowed, it would be borrowing from the income of 1838, to furnish an increase of pay to the members of 1837: — than which I can conceive of nothing much more objectionable. Gentlemen talked of being willing to take State-scrip. To be sure: — but is the State willing to create $32,000 scrip, for the redemption of which nothing is pledged, (tho' it would not mend the matter, if there were a sinking fund created especially to redeem it) to divide among the members of the Legislature of 1837, under the delusive form of increased pay.

4th. That the increase — this identical increase — had been already negatived by the House. My allusion to this subject, which seems to have given greatest offence, was not only justified, but *absolutely required,* by the very principle so vehemently asserted, by way of rebuke to my course. The Governor, I admit, is under an obligation to conform to the will of the Legislature: But that obligation is not legal, constitutional, or technical. It is *moral,* resting on high considerations of expediency and respect to the representatives of the People. Does not this very statement of its nature shew, that, when the Legislature takes so very irregular and unparliamentary a step, as to express two opposite wills on one subject, the Executive, if called to conform to one or the other not only *may,* but *must* enquire which is the *real* will of the House?

5th. The refusal of the ayes and nays was but faintly alluded to by me, for obvious reasons. Of itself, it would have warranted me in withholding my signature. What, require a Governor to record *his* name in favor of the passage of a Resolve, while its authors and friends refuse to record *theirs?* The right to record their names is a high constitutional right of the minority; the duty to record them a high constitutional duty of the majority. And tho' our Constitution has guarded this point much less carefully than the Constitution of the United States, yet the provision, that, when a bill is sent back, the question *shall be* taken by ayes and nays, evidently fits as if intentionally, a case where an attempt had been made to force a law thro' without them, as in the present instance.

There are other reasons, that might be given in favor or defence of my Message; but I forbear them, because they were not alluded to in the Message itself. The fact is — ardently desirous to treat the Legislature with respect — there were some very strong views of the subject, which I was obliged to omit.

There is nothing secret in this letter, but you will of course understand, that it is not for publication. With great regard faithfully yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

TO EDWARD EVERETT.

NORTHAMPTON, May [15], 1837.

DEAR SIR, — I should not venture to trouble you again were it not for correcting the statement to which you allude as to what I said upon the veto message when under discussion in the House. My remarks were directly made to apply to Van Buren's *threat* of exercising the power, Mr. Mansur having attacked you. I observed that the objection came with ill grace from that side of the House, and went on to show how absurd it was for the Executive to undertake to speak in advance upon its exercise. I stated what in my opinion would justify the interposition of this power viz. when there was a manifest intent or tendency in a legislative Act to encroach upon the Executive hand, and to protect the people against a law passed by both houses through inadvertence, haste, passion, or corrupt design. I stated that these were the only or principal cases in which the Executive would be justified in interfering, and that such was the doctrine of expounders of constitutional law of the United States — the *Federalist,* Story, and Webster — and that the language of the Constitution of the United States did not materially differ from that of the Constitution of Massachusetts. I quoted the remark of Burke in his Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol that upon the repose of this power in England depended its preservation, and stated that it had not there been exercised since 1692. I intended to state the limitations as laid down by constitutional writers, but I stated them from memory at that time, and I have had no opportunity since to examine those authorities for an extension of the principles. I mentioned that Gov. Lincoln in his veto of the Warren Bridge confined himself to a constitutional case, and that the passage of the Singing school Act which he vetoed might come under the head of inadvertent or careless legislation. After applying these principles to the veto *threat* of Martin Van Buren,

I observed that as your message did not come within the rules laid down for its exercise, I must consider the reasons insufficient, but that I should not change my vote for I considered the reasons addressed to the majority and not to the minority. If I thought the occasion an improper one for its exercise, of course the reasons would seem *to me* insufficient. The doctrines of the Whigs on this question, and the outrageous menace of the President, may have given me too high ideas in regard to the exercise of this power, and being a lawyer I may lean too much upon legal authorities.[1] With my views, I should ask whether a resolve giving money to schools for instance would have been vetoed because there was no money in the Treasury and no authority to borrow any? If it would, the objection could at most have been only temporary. As to the third reason, I might say that we might easily suppose a state of things in which it would be necessary to take from the income of 1838 to pay the legislature of '37 their usual compensation and that in such case a veto could not be proper though the measure might be objectionable. To the fourth I should say that if the Executive is bound to give effect to the real will of the House, then this reason rides over all the others, together with the yeas and nays, and further that an unparliamentary step on the part of the House would not justify an interference by another department of the government.

The position which was taken by some that you could not officially take notice of our former proceedings or look into our journal is too technical for my taste, and smells of *our shop*. It was the duty however of the absent to have been at their post and the only great question with me would be whether the Executive could in a matter of legislation exert his power by way of substitution for the missing. So in regard to the yeas and nays I might say that bills have received the signature of the Executive where the yeas and nays were refused, and it might be a question whether the Governor could officially take cognizance of such circumstances to make them the foundation of an interposition of his power. But these differences of opinion grow out of different views of the proper occasions for its exercise, and certainly I ought not to array my own views hastily expressed as they necessarily were at the time, and even since not matured at all, against your own which have been thoroughly examined with the eye of a statesman, and scrutinized with great mental power. I have but briefly alluded to the points involved, and I should not have done thus much had not I supposed you would

[1] In Margin: "Answer sent to here."

willingly hear me suggest the considerations which influenced me in stating openly that I did not concur in the reasons assigned, little as may be the weight to which I know they are entitled and which they would command.

With many apologies for this protracted epistle I remain yours Sir with the highest respect

C. P. HUNTINGTON.

"Nullus Deus nisi nodus vindice dignus."[1]

FROM EDWARD EVERETT.

BOSTON, 23 May, 1837.

DEAR SIR, — I have your favor of the 21st. Should the nomination of Mr. Dewey be confirmed by the Council, in order to furnish all, who may wish to be considered as candidates for the place now filled by him, an opportunity of being named as such, I shall delay the nomination of his successor till the stated quarterly meeting of the Council, in the last week of June.

I ought also to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 15th on the subject of the Compensation resolve, which I read with respectful interest. I am gratified to find that we agree on the only point of supposed difference between us of great importance (viz't the constitutional limits of the veto power) and I do not think it likely we shall find occasion again to settle the bounds of its practical application. I will not therefore, at a moment when the hearts of all good citizens are oppressed by so much weightier cares, annoy you by pursuing the discussion. I am, Dear Sir, with great regard, faithfully yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

FROM DANIEL WELLS ALVORD.

Confidential.

GREENFIELD, September 28th, 1848.

DEAR SIR, — When in Springfield last Monday evening I promised Bangs to have a conversation with you (entirely confidential) in regard to a Candidate for Congress. We both desire that you should be the Candidate, thinking you by far the strongest man, and deeming it very important that the strongest man should be nominated.

[1] The correct form is "Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus," from Horace, *De Arte Poetica Liber*.

But it is commonly reported about the District that you will not support Van Buren. Taylor men continually make use of your name, and with considerable effect, to injure his prospects, and thus to hurt the Free Soil party. If a Candidate of that party for Congress your name would be more efficient for harm to us in this way than it now is; and we do not wish to give our adversaries an instrument with which to fight us. You will see at once that we should be in a bad dilemma if we had a candidate who did not belong to our party.

I was told in Northampton that, if you accepted at all, it would be with the condition that you should not be pledged to support Van Buren. Other conditions were mentioned which I did not regard as of much importance, but this one seems to me wholly inadmissible. Can not you get over it? You have perhaps seen the letter of Columbus Delano of Ohio — do you not subscribe to his doctrine? If you will reflect how important it is for us to set up the strongest man, and how exceedingly injurious to us it would be if after nominating a Candidate it should turn out that his name could be used to battle us with, I believe you will excuse me for writing you on the subject.

Have you determined not to support Van Buren? If you have not, can not you, if nominated, in your letter of acceptance, or in a speech to the Convention, or some later speech, or by some other *public* act, put an end to the use which is thus made of your name to our injury?

I know you do not desire the nomination. Yet I trust that for the good of the cause you will accept it, if tendered, and, by a support of our ticket, place yourself in full communion with the party.

I hope you will answer this letter. Your answer I should like to show to Bangs, or at least to communicate to him its contents. But I will do with it just as you may direct — keeping it entirely to myself if you request it. Yours respectfully,

D. W. Alvord.

P.S. I have some reason to think that Ashmun[1] will not be the Taylor Candidate, and that General Devens will. But I have no such evidence that I can feel sure of this.

I heard in Northampton that my name had been mentioned in connection with the candidacy for the Free Soil party. Independently of any other objections, I *could not for a moment think of accepting*. There are *insuperable* obstacles.

[1] George Ashmun (1804–1870), at this time in the State Senate.

MARCH MEETING.

THE stated meeting of the Society was held on Thursday the 13th instant at three o'clock in the afternoon, the First Vice-President, Mr. LORD, in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following gifts:

From Mrs. Frederick Lewis Gay, through Mr. John H. Edmonds, seventeen interleaved almanacs, 1726–1794, thirteen of which were kept by Dr. Cotton Tufts, of Weymouth, in 1763, 64, 66–68, 70, 71, 78, 83, 86, 87, 93, and 94; and three by Rev. William Smith, father of Abigail Adams, 1758, 68, and 82. These supplement the interleaved almanacs by the same writers given at the March Meeting, 1909, and Februrary, 1911, by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the notes in his first gift being printed in the *Proceedings* for June, 1909.[1] The other interleaved almanac in Mrs. Gay's gift was kept in 1726 from March to October, by Rev. Ebenezer Miller (H. C. 1722).

From Lawrence Shaw Mayo and Henry S. Shaw, a number of Shaw family papers, 1818–94.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From William F. Jenkins, of West Barnstable, a piece of Sacrament Rock in Barnstable, near which the early settlers received their first sacrament, and held their first town meeting, to mark which a tablet was erected on August 6, 1916, on what remains of the broken rock.

From the Society of Daughters of Colonial Wars, a badge of the Society, Boston, 1917.

From the Navy Department a broadsword, bayonet and cannon ball dug up many years ago on the battle field of Bunker Hill; and a piece of the Death-line fence of Andersonville Prison.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs a photograph of the Robert Gould Shaw monument in Boston, signed by Augustus Saint Gaudens.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had

[1] *Proceedings*, XLII. 444.

been received from Wilbur Cortez Abbott accepting Resident Membership, and from Charles McLean Andrews, of New Haven, accepting Corresponding Membership. He also reported that he had received an acknowledgment of the Society's message of greeting to President Eliot.

William Lawrence Clements, of Bay City, Michigan, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Vice-President appointed the following committees in preparation for the annual meeting in April.

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year: Dr. JOHN W. FARLOW, FRED N. ROBINSON, and JOSEPH G. MINOT.

To examine the Library and Cabinet: Rev. WILLIAM W. FENN, CHARLES A. COOLIDGE, and PHILIP HALE.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts: CHARLES P. GREENOUGH and HAROLD MURDOCK.

The Vice-President stated that Auguste Moireau, a Corresponding Member since February, 1903, died in Paris, December 24, 1919, aged seventy-seven years. He wrote on the French marine under Louis XVI, on the scholar's life in the Middle Ages and on the history of the United States. The Society has only just learned of his death through the Department of State, Washington.

Mr. LORD then read as follows:

A QUARTER CENTURY ANNIVERSARY.

It is worthy of remembrance today that it is twenty-five years since the Society first met in this room in its new building on the occasion of its March meeting in 1899.

No one of the officers of the Society on that day is now living, except our senior member, Mr. Winslow Warren, then a Member at Large of the Council. Only seventeen members of the Society of that day have survived the dread artillery of time.

Those who were then present could easily recall the time when the site of the building was covered with water and over it the tide ebbed and flowed and some, perhaps, as Dr. Green then said, had fished and boated here in the summer

days, or skated over the frozen surface in the winter months. When the Society was founded in 1791 this site, as Mr. Adams described it, was "a remote and unfrequented locality, while Court Street was still a place of residence."

The removal of the Society from its building on Tremont Street, overlooking King's Chapel Burying Ground, to this even then somewhat remote locality, was due mainly to the enthusiasm and judgment and vision of the then President, Charles Francis Adams, whose dominant personality and generous interest were persuasive factors in all important decisions of the Society.

It is a striking illustration of the changes in Boston in a quarter of a century that the Registry of Deeds of Suffolk County and the Registry of Probate of that County, in 1899 occupied the two lower floors of the Society's Tremont Street Building, while the three upper floors contained the meeting place and the Library and Collections of the Society, to be reached only by laboriously climbing the long flights of stairs.

It was thought when the Society erected this new building that it would be entirely adequate for all the purposes of the Society, at least during the life of any member then living. Provision was made in the building for the accommodation of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and its meetings were held here for some years, until the Academy building was constructed on Newbury Street, thanks to the generosity and interest of Alexander Agassiz, a member of both societies.

At the end of the first century after its incorporation, the accumulated investments of the Society amounted to the sum of $180,000. While during the last twenty-five years we have seen the investments roll up until they have reached a sum exceeding $600,000. The number of funds has more than doubled. I suppose the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper report at each meeting more gifts to the Library and Cabinet than their predecessors then reported during an entire year, twenty-five years ago. The growth of the Society has been so large and unexpected that already plans have been prepared and subscriptions secured for the erection of an annex which will suitably house the great and constantly growing accumulation of historic treasures.

The erection of this new building marked also the beginning of a new era in the life and development of the Society, not merely in the great gain in its invested funds and in its books and collections but also in an unusual increase in that most important and useful work for which it holds high rank among historical societies.

In the first one hundred and eight years after its organization, the Society published ninety-one volumes of *Proceedings* and *Collections*. In the last twenty-five years it has published fifty-six volumes.

The last quarter of a century has also been remarkable in a clearer and more general recognition than ever before that the treasures of the past, particularly in books and manuscripts, should no longer be held in private hands, but that their permanent home should be in the great public collections to which wide opportunities and generous privileges of free access and use should be given. The private collector still enjoys the delights and pleasures of collecting, but he recognizes today as never before that his labors are not for himself but for others. The treasured manuscripts and books of many families and homes have found and in increasing numbers continue to find, their permanent abiding place within these walls.

The ancient motto of the Society — Sic vos non vobis — has received a wider meaning and imposes new obligations in these last twenty-five years full of encouragement for the future.

The Vice-President said:

This Society has the pleasure of welcoming at its meeting today a distinguished historian and a Corresponding Member of the Society since 1916 — Dr. George Macaulay Trevelyan.

In this connection it is interesting to recall that on the roll of the Society for nearly forty-five years has been carried the name of his father, the Right Honorable Sir George Otto Trevelyan, who was elected a Corresponding Member in 1880 and transferred to the honorary list in 1899. Only

four Resident Members of the Society survive who were members at the date of his election.

They have given a new and generous interpretation of the foundations of American history and of the story of the American Revolution. There is no fairer statement of the position of both England and America at the outbreak of the Revolution than Sir George established in his volumes and his son Dr. Trevelyan gave in his recent Lowell Institute lecture, that there was "a good British case and a good American case both in law and in justice." The frank statement by so learned and eminent an English historian that the coercive acts of the British Parliament passed against Massachusetts were tyranny, is but one of the many reasons for extending to him a cordial welcome to the rebel town of Boston.

In reply Dr. Trevelyan expressed his appreciation of the greeting of the Society.

Mr. O'BRIEN read a paper on

THE PERSONALITY OF A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

I recently found a letter which William C. Whitney, the nation-wide manager of the movement both for the nomination and for the election of Grover Cleveland in 1892, wrote to his chief on August 30 of that year — a letter of such significance that I venture to read it in its entirety as a basis for a discussion of the personal element of a presidential candidate.

2 West 57th Street,
N. Y., Aug. 30, 1892.

Dear Mr. President: — I received your two letters with the checks which I have used as requested.

You will have recognized your contribution in "*The World*" as from "*A Friend of the Cause.*"

As to writing Murphy you may be right — the sequel will tell. I cannot but record my judgment that it is a great error — perhaps a fatal one.

You do not realize I think that you were nominated against the united voice of your state organization and that their pride is in a state of serious irritation from that cause. I think it is for

you to send for them and remove the feeling as much from their minds as possible.

You cannot carry this state without that feeling is removed, and they are working warmly for the success of the ticket.

It is idle to talk of Mass. and the West.

I know that you and I agree that the fight is upon the old lines, with a *possibility* of outside surprizes. I have laid down on my friendships and worked night and day to bring this about.

If you think best not to even write a friendly letter to the chairman of your State Committee who has come in, and is acting in your interest to straighten out difficulties I had better stop where I am. We must differ radically.

Isn't it possible for you to move to some place more accessible? I could not get away this Sunday on account of the Alabama men being here Saturday, but conferring by letter is a little difficult. We need all the time to be in closer relations to you.

You could help the campaign very much by being where men could see you now and then.

Your personal influence is lost where you are and it is a great element in the campaign.

I have not expressed any approval of any requests for speeches from you. The N. C. man spoke of his desire but no one said a word of approval or disapproval. As to the state bank matter I cannot find where it w'd benefit us specially. I think you can help by a restatement of the silver matter.

In the South the impressions of you got by the people is that you do not appreciate their suffering and poverty (and these are the real sources of the alliance movement) and have your ideas formed by Eastern money power, etc., etc., etc. — the *usual twaddle*.

I think having this in view you might write on the tariff and on silver in a mood sympathetic to them & make a great change in the South. As you s'd to me, It is unaccountable what ideas they get & where they get them. Yours

W. C. Whitney.

The second paragraph picks up the thread of an earlier correspondence in which Mr. Whitney had written to Mr. Cleveland to explain that Mr. Edward Murphy, chairman of the Democratic State Committee of New York, and known to be seriously disgruntled over the Cleveland nomination, might be won to a more friendly attitude, were Mr. Cleve-

land to write him a letter expressing sympathy over the serious illness of Mr. Murphy's daughter. Mr. Whitney accordingly had mailed to Buzzards' Bay a draft in his own hand of a letter which he asked Mr. Cleveland to copy and to send. It is quite likely that Mr. Cleveland knew nothing of the young woman's illness or even of her existence; but for all that, Mr. Whitney, with rare deftness, had arranged a letter of singular felicity, expressing sympathy. Since Mr. Whitney had managed the campaign which had brought Mr. Cleveland's nomination to pass, and was in practical charge, through Mr. Harrity, the national chairman, to whom Mr. Cleveland more than once referred as "only Whitney's clerk," it was fair that Mr. Whitney's patiently elaborated project should receive some attention.

Mr. Cleveland read the Whitney letter on the need of restoring the friendship of Mr. Murphy; read Mr. Whitney's projected letter of sympathy; and muttered in my presence this single comment: "I'll see myself in hell first." Nothing was done. In slightly more diplomatic language, Mr. Cleveland communicated this view to Mr. Whitney, who in the letter included here, replied:

"As to writing Murphy you may be right — the sequel will tell. I cannot but record my judgment that it is a great error — perhaps a fatal one.

"You do not realize I think that you were nominated against the united voice of your state organization and that their pride is in a state of serious irritation from that cause. I think it is for you to send for them and remove the feeling as much from their minds as possible.

"You cannot carry this state without that feeling is removed, and they are working warmly for the success of the ticket."

The subsequent history of the Cleveland-Murphy relations may be interesting here as an insert. The country was headed Democratic, with one of the strongest political tides of our history. To this Mr. Cleveland's personal reputation undoubtedly contributed, if it may not be said to have controlled it, and New York State — in spite of Mr. Whitney's fears — gave what was at that time an overwhelming Democratic majority.

The legislature then elected was Democratic. The newspapers began to tell that it was the purpose of the Democratic caucus to name Edward Murphy, the state chairman, for the United States Senate. Mr. Cleveland came out in a public statement against the choice. This greatly angered Mr. Murphy and his friends. Whatever they had done in the campaign toward Democratic success — and that had been done most reluctantly — they half-way regretted, in the face of this slap. Mr. Murphy was elected and went to Washington. His relations with the President, strained at the start, grew from bad to worse. He soon became knitted into the political fortunes of Mr. David B. Hill, although they had not always liked each other much. Together they made an issue with their associates in the senate against the confirmation of William B. Hornblower to the office of Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; and they won. On his defeat they joined forces against the confirmation of Wheeler H. Peckham for the same office, winning again. Their hostility finally compelled the President to nominate Edward Douglas White, senator from Louisiana, for the place. His selection, under the so-called senatorial courtesy, invited immediate confirmation.

All these things and many others relating to the tariff and subsequent issues, grew out of these relations of the campaign to which this Whitney letter refers. And all came in logical sequence. In the selection of Grover Cleveland, the Democratic party nominated a man who made exceedingly small departures from his own pre-conceived ideas upon any subject, political or personal. This is the keynote of his character; the interpretation of his career. It is an open question whether the results were so substantial in abiding statesmanship as if he had taken a more conciliatory course, winning over to himself by genial measures his natural opponents. Such was not his way. He went straight ahead, absolutely unmoved by anything in the external world. I doubt if we have ever had in political life a figure who in any degree approximated him in this respect.

To return to Mr. Whitney's letter. He says, "It is idle to talk of Massachusetts and the West." He was right as far as Massachusetts was concerned, but wrong as to the

West. For not only did Indiana, ordinarily Democratic, give its vote to Mr. Cleveland, but he also carried the electors of Illinois and Wisconsin, a part of those of Michigan, through the so-called Miner law, and ran so even a race in Ohio, as to split its electoral vote.

Mr. Whitney in his letter continued that the fight must be on the old lines, with the possibility of outside surprises; that he had lain down on his friendships, and worked night and day to restore harmony. And then he added:

"If you think best not to even write a friendly letter to the chairman of your state committee who has come in, and is acting in your interest to straighten out difficulties I had better stop where I am. We must differ radically."

Mr. Whitney then proceeded to urge Mr. Cleveland to remove to some place nearer New York. To this Mr. Cleveland paid no attention whatever, merely referring to it as an interesting vagary of Mr. Whitney's.

The subsequent allusion of the letter to the loss of the personal influence in the campaign by the absence of the candidate raises a question which perhaps the radio will solve for us. I have always believed that Charles E. Hughes would have been elected President in 1916 if he had been as far away from the firing line, as was Grover Cleveland in 1892. Surely the men who have made the most aggressive speaking campaigns have rarely shown up the best at the ballot box. William J. Bryan, a superb campaigner, has three times failed of election to the presidency. His first opponent, William McKinley, stayed and received delegations at Canton, speaking from the now famous front porch.

Mr. Cleveland made few speeches in the campaign of 1892. He went over to Jersey City one evening. He spoke to a Democratic Association in upper New York at a time when business at headquarters brought him to the city; it was a relatively small gathering of seasoned party leaders. He made, of course, the formal speech of acceptance at the Madison Square Garden, before 10,000 persons. He made no speeches in Massachusetts where he was spending the summer, nor in the supposedly doubtful state of Connecticut. Nor did he cross the river to Brooklyn, the great residential section of the pivotal Empire State. He was urged

to go to Chicago to attend exercises in connection with the laying of the cornerstone of the world's fair, but side-stepped it by reference to the inability of Mr. Harrison, his opponent, to go on account of the illness of his wife, expressing that decision in a very characteristic Cleveland phrase: "In view of the afflictive dispensation which detains by the bedside of his sick wife another candidate for the presidency." This led the flippant journalists to inquire if he proposed to pair off on election day with General Harrison, or to join in other neutralizing devices.

Mr. Whitney notes that in the South the impression its people have of Mr. Cleveland is that he does not appreciate their suffering and poverty, and that these are the real sources of the Farmers' Alliance movement, and that his ideas are formed by the eastern moneyed power. This Mr. Whitney designates as the usual "twaddle." It may, however, be said to be long-lived twaddle. It has figured in every presidential campaign that I have known anything about, and seems likely to play a bigger part in the year upon which we have entered than ever before. The location changes, but the malady remains.

As I read the accounts of recent presidential campaigns, I think how greatly complicated has become the work of a nominee, beside that of so recent a period as 1892. Senator Harding at Marion, Ohio, was surrounded by a group of assistants. Former Senator George Sutherland of Utah, now a justice of the Supreme Court, was in attendance most of the time as an adviser. All sorts of gifted writers, like our own Richard Washburn Child, and Judson C. Welliver, now of the White House staff, were in residence there for various kinds of help. There were secretaries and stenographers galore. Col. George Harvey was a frequent visitor in an advisory capacity. There were others. This was all very different in 1892.

Mr. Cleveland was at Buzzards' Bay when the news came of his nomination at Chicago. He stayed there until the weather was too cold for comfort, when he removed to a house at 12 W. 51st Street, New York City, next door to that of Commodore E. C. Benedict, who maintained relations, not wholly dissimilar to those which Mr. Frank W.

Stearns of this city bears towards President Coolidge. But Mr. Cleveland did not stay in Mr. Benedict's house long after his election, going instead to a cottage at Lakewood, where he obtained the larger degree of privacy which he ceaselessly sought. He was at Buzzards' Bay during the real presidential campaign. The long distance telephone was unknown. Connected with the railroad station there was a telephone, over which the telegrapher sent messages, but there was no such thing at Gray Gables as telephone connection with the New York headquarters, or with the world at large; and no private wires.

Mr. Cleveland had few visitors. He discouraged their coming whenever possible. It took a courageous man to get by the lines. If some Democratic politician from a distance wanted to come, Mr. Cleveland would write that he was off the express train routes, with a rather sandy highway from the railroad station to his house, adding: "In these circumstances, I hesitate to urge you to come." Only few people came. Mr. Whitney was there several times for the week-end. George F. Parker was there once or twice. Adlai E. Stevenson, the vice-presidential candidate, made a formal visit of three or four days just before Mr. Cleveland went over to New York to attend the notification ceremonies in Madison Square Garden.

I recall that on the Fall River boat, the route which Mr. Cleveland always patronized, Mr. Stevenson sat up to a late hour in the night conversing with the reporters — something which Mr. Cleveland never did. The vice-presidential candidate made such an impression upon them that Mr. John B. Smith, a native of Abington in this state, then representing the *Boston Herald,* made this comment at the close of the interview: "Adlai E. Stevenson — vice president of the United States — would make a good selectman of the town of Abington."

Mr. Stevenson specialized in his New York speech on the Force bill, and Mr. Cleveland on the tariff. That difference ran through the entire campaign. As its end drew nearer, it appeared that Mr. Stevenson had written no letter accepting the nomination. Mr. Cleveland, fearing that a report would get started that only one life stood between us and

the silver standard, became very anxious that Mr. Stevenson should say something in a letter of acceptance which would reassure the business interests. I, as a messenger, carried that hint to Mr. William F. Harrity at the New York headquarters. He promptly detailed Mr. George F. Parker, who is still writing on Mr. Cleveland's life, to chase up Mr. Stevenson and get such a statement. He was found campaigning in West Virginia. Mr. Parker prepared the statement on the way down, which Mr. Stevenson readily issued, asking only the privilege of rearranging it so as to make his opposition to the Force bill, on the federal control of elections, come first, with his desire for the maintenance of sound money secondary. This was entirely reasonable, Mr. Stevenson having no such desire, then or afterward, for as a member of congress he had voted for all the soft money projects of his time, and later when the silver split came in the party, occasioned by the nomination of William J. Bryan, Stevenson stood strongly with Bryan, becoming his running mate in 1900. The veneer of sound money which Mr. Cleveland tried to pour over the Illinois statesman proved exceedingly thin, and easily cracked under the slightest exposure.

Mr. Cleveland spent his summer in fishing on week days and dictating letters into a very late hour of the night, and then writing a number of the more personal ones with his own hand. He believed he was doing the campaign great good by his letters, even to obscure and unimportant people. He gave autographed photographs to all who asked for them, and especially to the namesakes. The latter were acknowledged faithfully, but he did not thank people for bestowing his name upon various domestic animals — a rule which he early instituted in the correspondence.

He was exceedingly fearful of being laughed at. That was almost an obsession with him. For a presidential candidate, with the memories of many such episodes before him, it was not an unmerited alarm.

The *New York Sun,* always troublesome, gathered his letters wherever they were printed throughout the land, and established a column, to the annoyance and chagrin of Mr. Whitney, who urged that these should cease. Mr. Cleve-

land's sole response was to have typewritten over the top of them: "Personal. Not for publication," and it is fair to say that most, if not all, of his correspondents respected this request. I fancy they were especially flattered by this personal emphasis.

Mr. Cleveland did not fish on Sunday, contrary to slanderous reports that occasionally obtained circulation, nor did he go to church on Sunday during his vacation, complaining that the seats in the pews at Bourne were too narrow. He did go to church in New York, and in Washington, sitting in the latter city under the ministration of the Rev. Byron Sunderland, in his first administration, and of the Rev. Dr. T. DeWitt Talmadge in his second.

Mr. Cleveland had a great dislike of newspaper reporters. He had suffered at their hands. He treated them badly; only an occasional one found any favor in his eyes, of whom the chief was Mr. John B. Smith already alluded to. But the trouble-making reporters were a factor in human affairs then, as now. For example:

One night on the Fall River boat Mr. Cleveland with his party going out from the dining room was accosted by a family whom he knew pleasantly at another table. They invited him to join them in some more champagne which they were then opening. Everybody was looking on. He declined. He was essentially bashful. He did not like to be conspicuous. That was all there was to his declination. But Charles Belmont Davis, afterwards consul at Florence, Italy, a son of L. Clark Davis of the old Philadelphia *Ledger*, and of Rebecca Harding Davis the novelist, pondered on the great refusal. He was then a young reporter on the *New York World*, and had only just been assigned to the President. In his mind this meant a commitment by Mr. Cleveland to a policy of total abstinence, and Davis so announced the next day. His authorship of the article Mr. Cleveland never knew, or Mr. Davis would not have been consul to Florence, if indeed the relations between the two families had not been strained. But the story once started spread like wild fire. The *Boston Herald* of that day, eulogistic of everything Mr. Cleveland did, praised his adoption of the abstinence policy during the heat and strenuousness of a

presidential campaign, as exhibiting very great wisdom. The religious journals said that if total abstinence was a good thing during the campaign, he ought to practice it permanently. His political opponents ventured the interpretation that he had been drinking too much — something for which there was no real basis. And so the debate raged through the newspapers, to Mr. Cleveland's great discomfort.

One day a reporter named A'Becket had occasion to write of Mr. Cleveland's going on a yachting trip with Commodore Benedict. With a great flow of verbal fancy, Mr. A'Becket described the elegance of the Benedict yacht, the *Oneida,* and added that one of its specialties was its wine closet, but that out of deference to the newly formed resolution of his guest, Commodore Benedict had removed from it every last drop of alcoholic ingredient. Mr. Cleveland read this and did not like it. He did not want to be laughed at.

It was in such ways as this that great stories spread. It often takes very little, particularly in a presidential compaign or about a candidate, to start a story.

But I must not continue. Perhaps my paper will be acceptable as a personal picture of a presidential candidate, in what must remain one of the memorable political battles of our history, and one that was followed by a victory of stupendous proportions, showing the response of the country to Mr. Cleveland's personal appeal, which remains almost without precedent in our annals.

Professor Theodore Clarke Smith read a paper on

The Garfield-Blaine Tradition.

It has been generally believed that all the troubles which beset the short Garfield administration were due to the fact that the incoming President allowed himself to be directed on vital matters by a more powerful personality, that of Blaine. This idea was widely held, at the time, by all sorts of political observers. The first to proclaim it were the adherents of Conkling in New York, who were convinced, as soon as it was rumored that Blaine was to be Garfield's Secretary of State, that every decision the latter took would thereafter be directed against them by the

dominating influence of the man who was Conkling's personal enemy. After the Administration opened, the policy actually adopted by Garfield in regard to appointments in New York was unquestioningly assumed by Conkling and Platt to be the result of Blaine's interposition. Not only the "Stalwarts" but many Independents, such as Godkin of the *Nation* drew the same conclusion, while some of Blaine's friends firmly believed that Garfield's acts were inspired and directed by him. Sherman, also, says in his *Recollections* (II. 807) "Blaine, having similar personal qualities but a stronger will, gained a powerful influence with him. . . . After his election he was chiefly guided by his brilliant Secretary of State."

For all this there was at the time no basis but inference and the visible friendliness between the two men, but in 1895 when the life of Blaine by "Gail Hamilton" was published it was recognized that actual contemporary evidence had been produced to corroborate the belief. Miss Dodge herself did not in any place actually say that her hero "controlled" or "dominated" Garfield, but the copious extracts she printed from their correspondence certainly seemed to point to some such relationship. Mr. Rhodes in Vol. VIII of his *History of the United States* (p. 142) remarks: "As one goes over the familiar correspondence between Garfield and Blaine one is astounded. Although Blaine perhaps exhibited too much masterfulness, he gave good advice about cabinet selections. . . . Garfield accepted all of his suggestions in good part and did not feel the slightest irritation at words wherein the future Secretary seemed to assume that he would be the dominating head."

Mr. Stanwood, in his life of Blaine, with the same material before him, evidently received the same impression but hesitated to express it quite so strongly. "It is true," he said (p. 238) "that the President leaned heavily and confidently upon his Secretary of State, consulted him at all times and probably followed his advice almost invariably. But the same fact might almost certainly be stated with equal correctness another way; that the two men consulted together and were almost invariably agreed upon the course to be pursued, no matter which was the first to suggest

it. . . . In whatever form the statement may be made, it is true that there were ties of the closest personal friendship and relations of the most unbounded mutual confidence between them."

It was with the expectation of examining the details of these cases where Blaine had directed Garfield, and of following through the consequences of this personal ascendency, that I began the study of the Garfield papers covering the period between November, 1880, and June, 1881. These included not only the Blaine letters from which "Gail Hamilton" had taken her quotations, but all the other letters that Garfield received, as well as copies of all the letters that he had sent, and in addition his journals, covering political events day by day. It is not too much to say that a few days' work among the sources were sufficient to show me that the situation had been totally misconceived and when I had completed my survey of the period I had become convinced not only that Blaine exercised little or none of the compelling force upon Garfield with which he was credited by the tradition, but that he actually counted for less than several other advisers. What was still more marked was the fact that on every important decision it was Garfield himself who was personally responsible, and in addition that he made many of these decisions directly in the teeth of advice, protests and warnings from some of the most considerable personages in the Republican party, including, again and again, Blaine himself.

So far as time permits I will try to show forth the true nature of Blaine's dealings with Garfield, and will begin by considering his connection with the selection of the Cabinet. Blaine was invited by Garfield to be Secretary of State on November 27, 1880, accepted on December 20, and allowed the news to "leak" out to the public during the first part of January. As soon as the rumor reached the New York "Stalwarts," they were convinced that Blaine was working against them and pressed Garfield with the utmost intensity to provide them with an equivalent cabinet position as a means of protection. It was then that the talk of his "domination" first began. Garfield stiffly refused to give the Treasury Department to Levi P. Morton, one of Conkling's

adherents, and this they regarded as proof positive that Blaine was directing Garfield's policy.

As a matter of fact Blaine was attempting to do that very thing. Even before he had accepted Garfield's offer, he urged upon him (December 16) that only from the Blaine and Sherman elements of the Republicans should cabinet officers be selected; that the Stalwarts and the Independents should be absolutely excluded. He characterized the former as "the desperate bad men of the party" and the latter as "the Unco Guid, the worst possible advisors, upstarts, conceited, foolish, vain, without knowledge of measures, ignorant of men." In reply Garfield calmly and gently announced that he intended to do just what Blaine warned him not to do. Observing that the Grant element enjoyed great public prestige he said (December 17): "for this reason it must not be ignored or neglected." As for the Independents, Garfield admitted that they were "impracticable," but added, "they embrace a class of people that ought to be with us and reasonable pains should be taken to retain them. They did good service in the late campaign." Without consulting Blaine, he went ahead and offered to give L. P. Morton of New York — the Stalwart candidate for the Treasury — the Navy Department, and — also without consulting him — selected Wayne McVeagh, in conference with Cameron, as a suitable representative of the Independents in the Cabinet. Still hoping for the Treasury Morton declined the Navy, and when the news of Blaine's acceptance of the State Department became known, he renewed his demand, backed by the full strength of the Conkling group who insisted on having him there "as an answer to Blaine."

Garfield was immovably determined for political reasons not to give that position to Morton, but he was equally determined to have some New York Stalwart in his cabinet, so that he was compelled to enter upon a long process of negotiation, trying man after man. He discussed Thomas L. James, turned to Charles J. Folger, to whom he offered in vain the Attorney Generalship; turned again to Morton to whom he again offered the Navy; and when Morton, after accepting it, withdrew under pressure from Conkling, he turned back to James, offered him the Post Office De-

partment and had him in the Cabinet. Now the striking thing to note is that Garfield carried out this policy against the unremitting opposition of Blaine. "Morton," he said (February 5) "nobody wants. . . . Tom James would be nothing but a tool of Conkling, certain to retail cabinet secrets." When he learned of the proposed offer to Folger he wrote: "The rumor created little less than a panic among your friends here. In New York it is understood to be the original concoction of Dorsey, Tom Murphy, and a whole nest of unclean birds who wish to go in for loot and booty." Ignoring Blaine's protests, Garfield offered each of these men a cabinet position and ended by installing in the Cabinet the so-called "spy." There is no sign that Blaine's vehement letters had any effect at all.

Fully as objectionable to Blaine as the New York Stalwarts was Windom. He began a campaign against him as early as December 24, 1880, just after he had accepted the State Department and fought it to the very end. Windom, he said, was "profoundly and absolutely ignorant of our finances, except as appropriation bills teach, which is nothing and on the wrong side. . . . Any darned fool (mark that is not d—d) can spend money." "But Allison," he pointed out, "was true, kind, reasonable, fair, honest and good, a splendid man to sail along with smoothly and nicely." Writing in February he declared that another leading objection to Windom in his eyes was that he was a presidential aspirant. "He has the Presidential bee in his bonnet *terribly*" he said (February 5). "My bee is dead or has ceased to sting, but Windom's is just full hatched and is very active, buzzing all the time."

He pushed Allison constantly, until Garfield, after a conference with the latter, discovered that he was not anxious for the Treasury. Then as alternatives Blaine suggested Gresham and later Wharton Barker, one of the two "original Garfield men" of 1880, a man whose later claims to have engineered Garfield's nomination grew out of all resemblance to the facts. When Garfield found that Folger of New York was not the man for the Treasury, he turned again to Windom. At the last minute, just before the Inauguration, when the withdrawal of Morton from the Navy Department

necessitated a shuffling of the cards, Garfield so far yielded to Blaine — although not Blaine alone, it appears — as to offer the Treasury to Allison. The Iowa statesman, who had doubted his suitability in January, still felt the same reluctance and on the day of the Inauguration, declined. Fearing that Garfield would turn again to Windom Blaine dashed off a note, urging Gresham for the place. To this Garfield replied: "Surprises will never cease, but the world is wide enough to find in it a man for the Treasury. I note what you say of Gresham. There is yet time to form a new line of battle. Come to me at the White House the first moment I am free. With the love and comradeship of eighteen years and with faith in the next four years."

This sounds like the reaching out the hands for help, an appeal for support. But what happened was that Garfield overrode Blaine, sent for Windom and offered him the Treasury. Not only that, the journal shows that he sent Blaine out in company with the man whose appointment he had been fighting for three months to assist in settling upon an incumbent for the Interior Department. The journal says, "At ten Windom accepted. Sent him and Blaine out to inquire about Gresham, Hunt and Kirkwood for the Interior. They returned to me at one-thirty and both agreed with me that Kirkwood was the safest suggestion, and so at two-thirty I had signed and sent to the Senate the exact cast with which I left Mentor except that in New York Morton was replaced by James." Even here he declined to take Blaine's advice alone.

During the winter Blaine urged not only the names abovementioned but also pressed his friend Elkins upon Garfield, as a man whose skill in political management would be invaluable. He even sent Garfield a draft letter to use. In reply Garfield quietly pushed aside the suggestion.

It is, I think, perfectly obvious that Blaine had very little influence upon Garfield's selection of Cabinet members. His effort to exclude Stalwarts and Independents was negatived at the start. He failed to prevent Garfield from offering Cabinet places to Windom, Morton, Folger, James, and had two of them as colleagues. He failed to induce Garfield to offer places to Gresham, Barker, or Elkins. The one success

he scored, that of the offer to Allison, was not gained against any opposition, for Garfield found his other advisers, notably Sherman, favorably inclined to Allison, although somewhat preferring Windom. The impression created by the careful reading of the correspondence between the two men is that of a masterful, effervescent, impatient, pugnacious individual dashing himself vainly against the quiet, uncontentious but immovably tenacious purpose of a steadier nature.

How then, it may be asked, did the contrary impression come to prevail? In part, the answer is to be looked for in Garfield's habit of keeping his dealings with individual advisers pretty strictly separated. He did not quote Sherman to Blaine, nor Whitelaw Reid to either. Nobody knew what Blaine was saying to him, or the extent to which he was heeding Blaine's advice. But everybody knew what kind of temperaments characterized the two men. Garfield was known to be kindly, affectionate, conciliatory; ready as a member of the House to compromise on all sorts of minor matters or even on large ones, if necessary to secure results in legislation. He was deferential to other men's opinions as to facts on the floor of the House unless he happened to be thoroughly informed himself. He was regarded by his friends as well as his critics as lacking in self-assertion and authority, as slow to make up his mind, and as liable to take unwise advice from a man he liked. Blaine on the other hand was emphatically an authoritative man, vigorous in asserting himself, quick in decision, impatient of hesitation; ready to dominate anybody, friend or foe. Hence such a man as Sherman, knowing nothing, judged that Garfield was being led by Blaine. As a matter of fact, Garfield paid considerably more respect to Sherman's opinions than to Blaine's regarding men; although he did not hesitate to act squarely in opposition to his advice also. Nobody knew then nor since how completely Blaine failed to exercise any control upon the formation of Garfield's Cabinet.

But how about the letters in Gail Hamilton's life of Blaine? This is an amusing example of the dangers connected with the partial publication of statesmen's letters. Miss Dodge secured the Blaine letters from Mrs. Garfield and, after having used them in preparing the biography, re-

turned them to the Mentor collection. One can see how she drew brackets in blue pencil about the paragraphs which she desired to have printed from any given letter, and it is interesting to note with what skill she eliminated anything but what was highly creditable to her hero. All his specific suggestions, or nearly all, she kept out of print, while including all his general views which in the actual letter served as a sort of pious prelude to the business in hand. No one would realize that the wise generalities which he directed to Garfield, and which the latter in reply heartily accepted, were followed in his own letters by particular exhortations and warnings and arguments all about appointments, and that these latter were, in the concluding and unpublished parts of Garfield's replies, politely and firmly laid aside. There is nothing more amusing than the apparent *naïveté* with which Blaine mingled in one letter the most elevated views of public policy and the most thoroughly practical advice as to putting men into the Cabinet who would be useful in handling offices with a view to the next election.

Miss Dodge doubtless did well in not printing the personal parts of those letters. In 1895 they would have stirred up all sorts of hornets' nests. But the result was to create a thoroughly fictitious impression which has imposed even upon such prudent members of our society as the two gentlemen I have quoted — Messrs. Rhodes and Stanwood.

An excellent example of how completely Mr. Stanwood was deceived is found on pp. 233–4 of his *Life of Blaine,* where he quotes what he calls "a remarkable letter" of December 6, 1880, in which Blaine analyzed the three elements of the Republican party, pointing out that only in his own and Sherman's supporters could Garfield repose full confidence. "The letter was not specific in advice as to methods," says Mr. Stanwood, "but its general purport was clearly that great skill would be required in handling the three sections so as to keep the party harmonious." And later on, in connection with the Robertson appointment Mr. Stanwood deplores Garfield's failure to follow Blaine's good advice. The amusing feature is that the omitted parts of this letter had very specific advice, namely that Garfield should not appoint any Grant man or any Independent as a member

of his cabinet, but should confine all patronage to his own friends. This Garfield squarely rejected. Mr. Stanwood quite naturally drew exactly wrong conclusions from what he read.

As to the influence of Blaine upon Garfield's policy toward Conkling, during March, April and May, 1881, the evidence of the journal and letters reveals a continuation of this odd contest between the President and his Secretary of State, the latter constantly urging the former to declare war against Conkling and constantly being turned aside or overridden. Blaine doubtless talked freely and often to Garfield and of these conversions no record exists except a few words now and then in Garfield's journal. But Blaine had the habit of writing notes. There is among the Garfield papers a package of them which Blaine dashed off during these months. Usually undated, always imperative, hortatory, sometimes excited and imploring, sometimes solemn and warning, these epistles reveal in their unstudied directness the passionate intensity of the man who wrote them, and in many cases his ill-concealed exasperation over his inability to control the actions of his chief. By a reference to the journal one can nearly always tell the date of the note. Practically every one deals with offices. To some of them Garfield sent laconic replies.

Doubtless Garfield paid due attention to these matters and in one or two cases the journal shows that he heeded Blaine's warnings, although in no case without consulting with other members of his cabinet. But what these notes show is that on the major points of the contest between Garfield and the New York Senators over the Robertson nomination and other offices, Garfield selected his own ground and chose his own methods. Blaine did no more than buzz around the edge of the affair like an angry hornet.

To begin with Garfield sent for Conkling March 20 and agreed with him on a list of reappointments for New York federal offices. He did this without consulting Blaine and sent the nominations in to the Senate without telling him about them. Thereupon Blaine in slang phrase "went up into the air." The journal says: "In the evening while we were at dinner, Blaine came and expressed great distress at

the New York appointments. In one of them I think I have made a mistake and will try to correct it. Many called in the evening. At 10:30 Blaine came and stayed until near midnight."

The next day, Garfield sent to the Senate without consulting Conkling the nomination of W. H. Robertson for Collector of the Port of N. Y. in place of General Merritt, who was nominated for consul at London. This was generally taken to be the direct result of the nocturnal conference of March 21. Conkling learned from a White House employe that Blaine had been there the night before and this fixed the belief in his mind. It certainly had that appearance. Robertson was the leading Blaine delegate from New York at the Chicago Convention in June, 1880, and the leading anti-Conkling Republican in the state. This seemed to be a stroke by Blaine to defy Conkling in his own state, by securing for a personal follower a position of enormous importance for purposes of patronage. It was spoils politics to the *n*th degree; just the sort of thing that Blaine delighted in. That to gain this position the reforming collector installed by Hayes had to be removed would probably add to Blaine's satisfaction. So people argued. The thing seemed plain on its face.

Nevertheless Garfield's journal and letters put an entirely different aspect on the matter. He wrote, in the journal, March 22: "Foreseeing the difficulties which attend the affairs of New York, and determined not to be classed as the friend of one faction only, I carried out a plan which I discussed with Judge Folger when he was in Mentor and which he approved. Instead of waiting for the long two-years contest over the New York Collectorship which will attend the remainder of General Merritt's term I appointed Merritt consul to London and Judge Roberston Collector of New York. This brings the contest to an early close and fully recognizes the minority element."

In a long letter to his friend, President Hinsdale, written a little later Garfield elaborated this idea, repeating emphatically that it was his own personal plan. "I determined," he said, "to recognize Mr. Conkling very generously and fully. This I did by appointing from the list

of his friends the Postmaster General, the Postmaster at New York, the minister to France and filling nine vacancies in the State with persons whom he recommended. To have stopped there would have been regarded as not only a surrender to him but as putting to the sword all those Independent Republicans who followed me at Chicago in resisting the unit rule. . . . Therefore I determined to recognize the other side in a conspicuous manner."

Neither in the journal, nor in any letter does Garfield allude to Blaine's having any connection with the nomination. He refers to Blaine's visit the evening before but does not say whether he discussed the plan with him. If he did he must have presented it to him as he did to Hinsdale, for a note sent by Blaine on hearing of the nomination of Robertson is plainly a reflection of Garfield's line of reasoning, rather than Blaine's own mentality.

"Your work of today," wrote Blaine, "creates a splendid impression. Your own friends in N. Y. who had waited without a complaint for a single recognition of their great labors for you are amply rewarded. . . . If the gentlemen who had had nine or ten large appointments are growling it only shows their utter unreasonableness and discloses the danger that they would have used *your* administration to crush *your* friends. . . . Treat both sides fairly, and on this line you must be as firm and resolute as though you were fighting Chickamauga over again."

This is not the language of a man writing about his own plan. Blaine never talked nor wrote that way about appointments that he suggested or opposed. His final remark about treating both sides fairly was probably only a reflection of Garfield's own position, for a few days later Blaine was urging just the reverse policy, a declaration of war upon Conkling, to be carried out through official proscription. "Your chivalric generosity towards Conkling," he wrote, March 30, "has given him a manifest advantage. . . . To show your utter unselfishness you sent in the names of all his friends first. He therefore securely seizes and holds all the strong points you so liberally gave him. If tomorrow you recall the nominations of Tenney, Woodford, Payn, MacDougall, Tyler, the Albany P. M., the Batavia P. M. and

Robertson, you will send consternation through the ranks of the Conklingites. . . . Then when Mr. Conkling comes to his senses you can begin at the other end and send in Robertson's name first and see how Mr. Conkling relishes that. . . . At all events they are at your mercy. . . . I never felt clearer in my life in urging a suggestion than I do in this case. The *coup* would be complete and crushing." This is the real Blaine, the fighting politician. His suggestion, it may be added, was not taken by Garfield at the time, March 30. It was not until May 5 that he took any step resembling it. Since Boutwell, in his *Reminiscences,* quotes Blaine as denying that he suggested the Robertson nomination, and since Garfield not only fails to mention Blaine in connection with it, but expressly wrote in the journal, that he said to Logan, "The Robertson appointment is mine, not another's," and since he wrote in a letter May 29, "the attempt to shift the fight to Blaine's shoulders is as weak as it is unjust," the only safe conclusion is that Platt's assertion that "Blaine induced Garfield to nominate Robertson" is unsupported by the evidence.

It may be interjected, at this point, that to quote Platt's Autobiography as an authority for anything is hazardous. A comparison of the assertions made in that book about the relations of Garfield with Platt and Conkling with the contemporary evidence in letters and journals, not only in the Garfield papers, but in Cortissoz's *Reid,* and A. R. Conkling's *Conkling,* has led me to the conclusion that no statement of Platt's is valid unless corroborated. In his treatment of the Robertson case in particular, practically every thing he says about Garfield is untrue. His chronology is incorrect, his statements of his own actions are glaringly imperfect. In short his unsupported word is worthless, not only about things he did not witness but about his own doings.

It will be remembered that the objections of the New York Senators to the Robertson nomination caused the holding up of all appointments in the Senate until late in May. During this period a furious newspaper controversy raged and all sorts of efforts were made for a "compromise" or "harmony"; but Garfield stuck to his original plan, refusing

to alter any nominations he had made, either those agreed upon with Conkling on March 20, or the Robertson nomination of two days later. During this period Blaine wrote a number of notes constantly urging Garfield to strike at Conkling. Such, for instance, was one sent May 11 enclosing an insulting editorial in the *Albany Express* and urging him to cease the pretence of trying to recognize the claims for office of the Conkling faction. "The blackguards who hold this tone towards you," he wrote, "should be made to feel the full weight of your power. The deliberate effort is made to browbeat you into submission by a set of blackguards who are disgracing human nature in their mode of warfare."

When finally it looked as though the Senate might ratify the Stalwart nominations and postpone action on Robertson, Blaine renewed his urgence that Garfield withdraw them all. He was not the only one to suggest this. The journal shows that Platt made the same recommendation as early as April 5 as part of a "compromise" he was arranging. Garfield wrote in the journal May 4: "It may be possible for Mr. Conkling to have all his New York friends confirmed and let the Senate adjourn without acting on Robertson's case. If I find that is likely to occur, I will withdraw all the New York nominations except Robertson's and await action on that."

On May 5, while Garfield was still waiting, Blaine sent him the following agonized appeal: "I regard this day as possibly the most important of your Administration. . . . I beg you to act worthy of your great character, of your great fame. Send a messenger to the capital at once. . . . I pray God you may send it at once. The withdrawal of Elmer will put Tom Platt *hors de combat*. I pray you do not hesitate. I think every friend you have in the land will applaud."

The inclusion of Elmer's name shows that Blaine wished the nominations withdrawn as a political stroke, a punishment. Elmer's appointment had nothing to do with the Conkling question, but was recommended by T. L. James, Postmaster General, to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of Brady, accused of fraud in the Star Route revelations. Elmer was a protégé of Platt but James assumed all respon-

sibility for his nomination. Garfield endorsed on the back of Blaine's emotional note: "Answered at 1. P.M. Sent message ½ hour ago — but not Elmer. J. A. G."

To this Blaine replied, entirely mistaking Garfield's motives, in the following paean of praise. "Glory to God. Victory is yours, sure and lasting. It was wise to leave Elmer in. It will widen the breach between Conkling and Platt. I did not think of that." Neither did Garfield. He did not withdraw the names to punish anybody, but only to force a decision as was presently shown.

The withdrawal left the Senate face to face with the Robertson issue, and, unwilling either to override Conkling and Platt or to defy the President at the outset of his term, the Republican majority was in a painful dilemma. On May 11 the two New York Senators solved the situation when they took the fatal step of resigning in protest against Garfield's behaviour. The result was that the Senate anxious to end the difficulty confirmed the Robertson nomination May 18. Garfield had thus won. Immediately, to indicate that his action was not personal, nor connected with spoils, he took the step which to him seemed called for by consistency and sent in once more the names he had agreed upon with Conkling March 20, excepting two against whom personal objections were raised, by Blaine, Windom and others. This step drove Blaine to despair, as shown by the following note. "Pardon my intense earnestness," he wrote. "Nobody can beat you, my dear Mr. President, excepting yourself. Nobody can raise the cause of Conkling except you. *I fear you have done it.* Some blunders you know are worse than crimes. I fear this is one." The particular blunder lay in chilling the ardor of the anti-Conkling Republicans in the New York legislature, thereby rendering it possible for Conkling to be re-elected.

There is no sign that Garfield repented of his action, or gave any thought to the considerations urged by Blaine. With him adherence to a policy once laid down was in this case more important, not only than partisan considerations but even than his own personal feelings. "I was greatly tempted" wrote Garfield to Cox (May 22), "to fill the five vacancies with anti-Conkling men, but on the whole I thought

it best not to bend from the course I had started upon — to recognize fairly both wings of the party."

It is of course obvious, that Garfield's adhering to his original Stalwart nominations, even after the rupture with Conkling, disproves the contention that the Robertson appointment " was merely an attempt to build up a Blaine-Garfield machine in New York in opposition to that of Conkling." A man building up a machine does not give important and lucrative offices to adherents of an opponent, as Garfield now did.

On the same day that the original Conkling nominations were confirmed Blaine underwent another defeat, a personal one this time. Early in the winter he had urged upon Garfield the extreme importance of finding a place for W. E. Chandler, as a man who, he said, " possesses the singular faculty or series of faculties that would make him extraordinarily useful to any President," and would be invaluable in organizing for the the nomination and campaign of 1884.

While there is no sign that Garfield was especially concerned over Chandler's organizing capacity, he did agree to please Blaine by nominating him for Solicitor General. But this raised a serious difficulty with McVeagh, the Attorney General, who absolutely refused to serve in the same department with Chandler, since he had been publicly attacked by him in the past. He told Garfield flatly that if the nomination were persisted in he would resign (March 25). Garfield did his best to remove his objections and urged Blaine to play his part. But Blaine would hear of nothing but McVeagh's submission.

He wrote to Garfield a long and intense letter, demanding that he compel McVeagh to withdraw his objections, or, if worst came to worst, to let him carry out his threat; but on no account to permit Chandler to be kept out. His reasons mingled the high and low in his most characteristic manner. " You can never surrender," he wrote, " without a fatal compromise of your own power and dignity. . . . If McVeagh carries his point you will have seven masters in the cabinet instead of seven ministers under your constitutional direction. If McVeagh succeeds in driving Chandler off, Windom can readily exclude McPherson, and you will thus

be deprived of the services of men who will not only be admirable officers in their respective departments, but will guard with jealous care the politics of your administration and organize with ability and fidelity in your own personal interests. As against either of these two men, weighed as of value to you and your administration in the future, McVeagh is not a unit to a thousand." He went so far as to enclose a draft letter to McVeagh, laying down the law to him.

But for all Blaine's masterfulness, Garfield forced him to yield to McVeagh. The journal says: "Mar. 26. I called on Blaine who is in bed with inflammatory rheumatism and he agreed to have Chandler decline after he is confirmed." Even this slight satisfaction was, however, denied Blaine for the Senate on May 10 actually rejected the nomination.

Here also as in the case of the cabinet, Blaine's habits of assiduous personal attention and numerous private notes, coupled with Garfield's apparent deference in manner, created an impression at the time that far outran the facts. So far as the papers in existence go, they show that Garfield studied out his own policy and stuck to it, regardless of Blaine's efforts to alter, or modify his intentions. They also show that when it came to a definite "show-down" as in the Chandler case, Garfield sided with McVeagh against Blaine. In fact, the whole historical treatment of this period needs revising, if not rewriting. So far from Blaine's monopolizing Garfield's confidence and directing his policies, the journals and letters show that Windom, McVeagh and James commanded Garfield's full and unqualified support in the numerous important and delicate questions that confronted them in these few short months and that McVeagh in particular played a part altogether more significant in domestic affairs than did Blaine who was interested only in appointments and spoils. McVeagh was deep in the refunding plan and at the heart of the Star Route investigation.

It is with interest that, after following through these dealings, one turns to Blaine's famous eulogy of February, 1882, and reads what he there said of Garfield's administration. Blaine undoubtedly felt that in combativeness, in self-assertiveness, and in political management Garfield was weak.

He said as much in dealing with Garfield's Congressional career. But what he said as to his executive ability gains added force when one realizes what Blaine had learned about his peculiar kind of patient, conciliatory power during the preceding year. "From the very outset," said Blaine, "he exhibited administrative talent of a high order. He grasped the helm of office with the hand of a master. In this respect, indeed, he surprised many who were most intimately associated with him in the government, and especially those who feared that he might be lacking in the executive faculty." In the Robertson affair, Blaine continued, "he was never for one moment actuated by any motive of gain to himself or of loss to others. Least of all men did he harbor revenge, rarely did he even show resentment and malice was not in his nature. But after most anxious deliberation and the coolest survey of all the circumstances, he solemnly believed that the true prerogatives of the Executive were involved in the issue which had been raised, and that he would be unfaithful to his supreme obligation if he failed to maintain in all their vigor the constitutional rights and dignities of his great office. In all the bearings of the subject the President was content in his mind, justified in his conscience and immovable in his conclusions."

Blaine spoke the truth. He well knew that the murdered President had been his own master, and that not even he, the magnetic, dominating, imperious leader, with all his intimate friendship, had been able through months of futile battering and fuming to sway him one hair's breadth from the plans he had himself worked out.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1924.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 10, at three o'clock in the afternoon, President LODGE in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Robert K. Richardson, of Beloit, Wisconsin, the Journal and Commonplace Book of John Newhall, kept in Boston, Jan. 1 to August 22, 1825.

From Mrs. Frederick C. Shattuck, manuscripts of her grandfather, Henry Lee, Jr., (1782–1867) relating to commercial interests in Massachusetts, 1823–1857.

From Miss Josephine MacChord Shaw, papers of the family of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, 1805–1902.

From Miss Cordelia Phinney, of Barnstable, a receipt from Christopher Gore, May 29, 1786.

From the Estate of A. Scott Harris, through Sumner B. Pearmain, Executor, the Testimonial of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to Alphonso S. Harris, of Company A, 50th Infantry in the Civil War, dated at Boston, April 19, 1870.

From Howard M. Chapin, of Providence, photostat negatives of papers of the General Assembly, Bermuda Islands, 1699–1702, relating to the illegal proceedings of Gilbert Nelson, Chief Justice of the Islands.

From Mrs. William P. Fowler, of North Andover, by deposit, a number of letters received by William Plumer, of New Hampshire, from John Adams, De Witt Clinton, John Quincy Adams, Levi Woodbury and others, 1804–1886; several letters of Franklin Pierce to Asa P. Fowler, of Concord, N. H., 1837 to 1845, when their partnership was dissolved; also a number of papers of Rev. Edward Everett Hale.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From the Estate of A. Scott Harris, a colored lithograph of the Battle of Port Hudson, March 14, 1863.

Photographs and engravings were received from Miss Emma Rodman, Charles Warren and Grenville H. Norcross.

Medals, bank bills and insignia were received from Miss A. C.

Storer, Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, Charles H. Taylor, Howard M. Chapin, Society of Daughters of Colonial Wars, Grenville H. Norcross and Gideon M. Mansfield.

By purchase, a Huguenot half dollar, struck to commemorate the settlement of New Amsterdam.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from William Lawrence Clements accepting Corresponding Membership, and one from Jerome D. Greene, Chief Marshal, acknowledging the receipt of the Society's greeting to President Eliot on his ninetieth birthday.

Philip Alexander Bruce of Charlottesville, Va., was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting, and

Dr. FARLOW read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

In greeting President Eliot in October, 1923, on the fiftieth anniversary of his election as a member the Society noticed in a fitting manner the tenth instance in its history of a semi-centennial in membership. The occasion was the more notable as five months later Mr. Eliot entered upon his ninety-first year, still a strong influence and actively interested in the world's movements. The presence of Dr. George Macaulay Trevelyan, a Corresponding Member, at the meeting in March was a pleasant reminder of what he and his father, an Honorary Member, have done to give a broader interpretation to the history of the American Revolution. In holding an exhibition in November of the work of Mr. Theodore Spicer-Simson, the Society recognized an old yet in modern times a somewhat novel form of art — the portrait medal — but little practised in this country. As a master worker Mr. Spicer-Simson showed more than one hundred of his pieces, proving its adaptation to many forms of expression in bronze. Three of his medals are in the Cabinet of the Society, those of Prof. Barrett Wendell and of Mr. Thomas E. Watson having been received since the exhibition.

The publications of the Society in the last year were:

The Autobiography of T. Jefferson Coolidge, a volume prepared to meet the custom of the Society of printing memoirs of its members; a volume of *Collections,* the seventy-sixth in order, *Numismatics of Massachusetts,* by Dr. Malcolm Storer, whose position as an expert on the subject is beyond question, who has been so successful in building up the coin and medal collections of the Society, and whose volume is unique in subject and in format, already recognized as a standard check-list of permanent value and an example to be followed in other states of the Union. The fifth volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts,* 1723–1724, continues the record and makes available a journal of which only two copies in the original were known. The five volumes now issued cover the sessions from 1715 to 1724 and have become a necessary part of every historical library. In providing for the series Mr. Dowse is laying the foundation of New England's history in a manner not hitherto possible. The *Proceedings* for 1922–1923, Volume LVI, offers the usual proof of the vitality of the Society in carrying on its traditions. In the coming year there will be the regular volume of *Proceedings,* No. 73 of the *Collections,* being the second volume of the *Warren-Adams Letters,* a volume of the *Journals,* and one of the Winthrop Papers. Nor does this list exhaust the possibilities of other issues. In the long run the ability to publish must rest upon funds available for printing, and volumes of good material, already prepared for the press, must wait on the necessary money. While drawing largely upon the manuscripts in its possession for its publication there is quite as rich a field in manuscripts in private ownership, which may be used for the asking.

The reproduction by photostat of rare historical material has become one of the recognized activities of the Society. The machine was installed in 1915, as an experiment, and an experience of nine years has more than justified the venture. In each year have been manufactured and distributed two or more years of the *Boston News-Letter* and in each year other records in print or manuscript of size and value have been preserved in this convenient form. In the last twelve months three years of the *News-Letter,* 1755–1757, were made, carry-

ing the total number of years of that newspaper completed to fifty-three. A file of the *News-Letter* for 1720 and 1722, containing twenty-nine hitherto unknown issues, was offered at auction in New Jersey and was purchased by the Library of Congress. With his accustomed courtesy and breadth of view Mr. Putnam has permitted the Society to include these unique issues in its reproduction, an important contribution towards completing the files for the two years. In addition to the *News-Letter* the Society has in combination with the Rhode Island Historical Society reproduced in one volume all the known manuscripts of Roger Williams, of which nineteen copies were made, and the Records of the West Parish of Barnstable, Massachusetts, in fourteen copies. The number of prints made in the year was 21,800 and the total number since April, 1915, 197,800.

The early Americana Series has been regularly issued at the rate of two volumes a month. Beginning with No. 87 in April, 1923, the hundredth volume was sent out in October, being a reproduction of a unique copy of Fernandez de Oviedo's twentieth book of his *Historia de las Indias,* 1557, issued during his lifetime. This only known copy is in the Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and because of its value and interest fittingly marked the century volume of the Series. Shortly before reaching that number the ten libraries concerned in the reproductions were asked if the reproductions should be continued into a second century, and all agreed without question to carry the Series on till the rarities of historical or bibliographical interest were exhausted. In view of the rather cautious approach when the Series was first mentioned this unanimity of opinion is worthy of notice. The number of the issues, their nature and relations and the manner of reproduction, have fulfilled the most sanguine expectations and already they constitute a body of Americana hitherto not to be found in any single library, European or American, or in all American libraries combined. Beginning with No. 87, a tract on Virginia Schools, 1622, the year's distribution brings the Series to No. 110, a tract of Vermont interest which required the combination of two imperfect copies to give the whole text. In the twenty-four pieces sent out the earliest in date were:

Syllacius, *De Insulis,* 1494; *Speculi Orbis Declaratio,* 1507; Dionysius, *Situs Orbis,* 1508, two Vespuccius letters of 1508 and 1510; Waldseemüller's *Introductio,* 1511; Rastel, *A New Interlude,* 1519, and Carlile, *Discourse,* 1581. With the Fernandez de Oviedo nine of the year's issues were of the sixteenth century, nine of the seventeenth and one of the fifteenth century. The leading contributing libraries were: the British Museum (5), Henry E. Huntington (4), John Carter Brown (4) and Bibliothèque Nationale (2). Of the one hundred and ten volumes distributed in the Series fifty have been derived from foreign libraries, and many of those taken from American collections were known in only one example.

In the matter of technique every effort is made to improve the quality of the print. Experiment in new chemicals is applied and an electric machine for drying the prints has given a better surface and appearance to the finished sheet.

In one respect these undertakings have been suggestive, showing the willingness of the large libraries to co-operate and their ready recognition of the merits of the reproductions. In locating the material, in obtaining its use and in distributing the results the Society has formed wide and important relations with great collectors and collections and has gained in influence and reputation as well as in possessions and a knowledge of where the more important treasures are available. Without these factors it would be impossible to compile such volumes as those on the Numismatics or the Broadsides of Massachusetts, and with them other fields are opened for cultivation. The Society has also gained largely and by granting perfect freedom in the use of its collections thus recognizes the true function of an historical society. With this development of service there have come increased and costly responsibilities, responsibilities to donors or lenders of material, to those who make use of it.

The Society faces a peculiar situation. For more than a century its possessions were reserved for its members, the public being admitted to privileges sparingly and for special reasons. In the earlier years this restricted use was not followed by serious disadvantage, and the Society was en-

abled to concentrate its limited means on publishing, which has given its more salient reputation. This close policy was laid aside barely a dozen years ago and in its place the interests in historical research of the general student or public were admitted. With the growth of library and manuscripts the rooms have come to be more generally resorted to and by the present policy of admitting freely any investigator of honest intent to its holdings the Society is meeting in a modern spirit the responsibilities laid upon it by the possession of family and historical treasures. In adapting itself to the new conditions, however, it finds the present building quite inadequate to its needs. Too much space must be occupied by its library which suffers by a want of space for its proper arrangement; too little space is available for tables for readers; there are no alcoves in which quiet may be had and books reserved for the student; the enforced use of artificial light is objectionable. The wall-space is so fully occupied with portraits and historical pictures as to be over-crowded and does not permit a proper display of much more that is deserving. In the proposed extension of the building full provision can be made for the present collections and for growth in the future, even should that growth be beyond expectation; tables and alcoves could be set out and a more judicious arrangement of reference and reading facilities would attract the investigator. It is to be hoped that in the near future this great need of the Society will be adequately met. It is not enough to rest upon the past and its achievements; an even broader field for effort opens ahead of it, and the performance of what is necessary, or even expected, is hampered by a want of means. That problem is ever present and until it is solved in a satisfying manner will be a bar to full progress. Once more we remind members of the special want of the Society and appeal to their interest and generosity.

At the meeting of the Council immediately preceding the last annual meeting of the Society, the need of additional protection of the building and its contents against fire was strongly urged, and also the advisability of installing an elevator. A Committee was appointed to prepare plans and

estimates for the proposed changes, and after approval by the Council, the Committee was instructed to proceed with the work.

A push-button electric elevator has been installed by the Otis Elevator Co. and has proved its value in making all parts of the building easily accessible, to say nothing of the great relief to the hearts and knees of those who would otherwise have to walk up and down the long and steep flights of stairs.

The risk from fire and water in the rear and on the roof has been eliminated by the bricking up of the windows in the rear near the hotel and by correcting certain serious faults on the roof. The conditions in the basement had been gradually getting very bad, a large mass of inflammable material having accumulated, which obstructed the passage-ways to such an extent as to make well nigh impossible the work of firemen in case of a fire. Radical and thorough work was necessary, and as a result several tons of old paper have been disposed of and quantities of encumbering, discarded material removed, together with some dangerous wooden shelves. In the rooms thus freed from the fire menace steel stacks, capable of holding some 30,000 volumes, have been built, which will relieve to a considerable extent, but not for long, the hitherto pressing need for more book room. The weight of the additional load on these shelves made necessary the relaying of some of the basement floors, which had settled and cracked and been in a dangerous condition for a long time.

A serious defect in the building has been the absence of a fireproof vault for the storage of the Society's valuable documents. When the building was under construction a circular, solid-walled shaft, extending from the basement to the upper story, was left, with the idea that sometime in the future it might serve as a shaft for an elevator. It proved, however, entirely inadequate for that purpose, and the Committee considered itself fortunate in being able to transform it, at moderate expense, into four fireproof vaults, one on each floor, with iron doors and combination locks. In these vaults are now placed many of the important papers and other material which had hitherto been the cause of much anxiety

to the officers in charge, who now have a feeling of great relief knowing, as they do, that their priceless treasures are no longer exposed to danger.

The development and extension of the use of electricity were brought forcibly to the attention of the Committee in an exhaustive report of a firm of electrical engineers, who examined the building. Regulations and safeguards considered adequate in 1899 are entirely insufficient for the present use of electricity in the building. The advice given by the electrical experts in order to meet the new requirements was acted on and the Committee is convinced that a very possible source of danger has thus been eliminated.

Mr. Forbes submitted the

Report of the Treasurer.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-laws, Chapter VII, article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report made up to April 1st, 1924.

The Special funds now held by the Treasurer are thirty-five in number, this being the same number reported last year. A list of these funds, with the income and expenditure of each, appears in Exhibit V in this report. There was added to the principal of the Adams Fund $1,566.04 from the sale of Publications. A list of the securities now on hand follows and shows

Bonds, par value	$448,000.00
Stocks " "	183,200.00
Savings Bank Books	1,942.98

represented by Investment Account, $580,381.36.

During the year considerable expense was incurred in connection with the changes made in the building of the Society — somewhat over $23,000.00 being expended for this purpose, which amount was provided principally from the sale of securities.

Few changes were made in investments during the year. The transactions going through the books of the Treasurer

continue to increase as the business activities of the Society widen in scope.

It is pleasing to report additions to the Building Fund during the past year from the following: Dr. and Mrs. David Cheever ($25), Dr. John W. Farlow ($500), and Grenville H. Norcross ($1,000), bringing the total to $33,050.96. The policy of keeping these funds invested in short term securities has been continued, as will be seen by the appended statement.

The close of the fiscal year finds the financial affairs of the Society in a very satisfactory and encouraging condition. The principal decreased $23,000.00 and the income increased $1,460.65 during the year.

The Treasurer wishes to express his appreciation of the co-operation received from the members of the Finance Committee.

ALLAN FORBES, *Treasurer.*

INVESTMENTS

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

American Agricultural Chemical Co.	7½%	1941	$10,000.00
American Sugar Refining Co.	6	1937	15,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	4	1929	10,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Sante Fé R. R.	4	1995 ADJ	9,000.00
Baltimore & Ohio R. R.	4	1959	3,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R.	4	1959	10,000.00
Belgium, Kingdom of	7½	1945	9,000.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric	5	1939	10,000.00
Boston & Albany R. R.	5	1938	10,000.00
Boston & Maine R. R. registered	4½	1944	6,000.00
Boston Elevated Railway Co.	5	1942	8,000.00
British Columbia, Province of	5	1924	2,000.00
Central Maine Power Co.	7	1941	10,000.00
Chicago Jct. Union Stock Yards	5	1940	10,000.00
Cleveland Short Line	4½	1961	10,000.00
Connecticut Light & Power Co.	5	1963	10,000.00
Connecticut Light & Power Co.	7	1951	9,000.00
Consolidated Gas, Electric Light & Power Co.	6	1949	10,000.00
Dedham Water Co.	5	1935	5,000.00
Denmark, Kingdom of	6	1942	10,000.00
Detroit-Edison Co.	5	1933	10,000.00
Duquesne Light Co.	6	1949	10,000.00
Carry forward			$196,000.00

Brought forward			$196,000.00
Fitchburg R. R.	4	1927	9,000.00
Home Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1936	20,000.00
Hartford Electric Co.	7	1930	3,000.00
Kansas City, Clinton & Springfield R. R.	5	1925	3,000.00
Long Island R. R.	4	1949	6,000.00
Mass. Lighting Co.	7	1930	10,000.00
New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1932	10,000.00
New York Central & H. R. R. R.	4	1934	15,000.00
New York Central Lines	5	1936	10,000.00
Old Colony Gas Co.	5	1931	5,000.00
Oregon Short Line	5	1946	10,000.00
Pacific Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1937	10,000.00
Père Marquette R. R.	5	1956	15,000.00
Père Marquette R. R.	4	1956	2,000.00
Plymouth Electric Light Co.	5	1925	2,000.00
Railway & Light Sec. Co.	5	1946	5,000.00
Rio Grande Western R. R.	4	1939	5,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.	5	1929	5,000.00
Shawinigan Water & Power Co.	6	1950	12,000.00
Southern California Edison Co.	6	1944	10,000.00
Toronto Harbor Commissioners	4½	1953	10,000.00
United Electric Securities Co.	5%	1936,'39,'40,'42	25,000.00
United States Steel Corporation	5	1963	10,000.00
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1932	10,000.00
Western Union Tel. Co.	5	1938	10,000.00
Wilmington City Elec. Co.	5	1951	5,000.00
Winnipeg, City of	6	1946	15,000.00
		Par value	$448,000.00

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

Atchison, Topeka & Sante Fé R. R. Pfd.	158 shs.	$15,800.00
Boston & Albany R. R.	35 "	3,500.00
Boston & Maine R. R. Class A	25 "	2,500.00
Chicago Junction & Union Stock Yards. Pfd.	150 "	15,000.00
American Glue Co.	25 "	2,500.00
American Smelting & Ref'g Co. Pfd.	75 "	7,500.00
American Sugar Ref'g Co. Pfd.	50 "	5,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	60 "	6,000.00
Boston Real Estate Trust	6 "	6,000.00
State Street Exchange	5 "	500.00
Kansas City Stock Yards. Pfd.	302 "	30,200.00
Pacific Mills	400 "	40,000.00
United Fruit	100 "	10,000.00
Merchants National Bank	85 "	8,500.00
Second National Bank	50 "	5,000.00
National Shawmut Bank	50 "	5,000.00
Carried forward		$163,000.00

Brought forward		$163,000.00
Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co.	10 SHS.	1,000.00
Consolidated Gas, Elec. Lt. & Power Co. Balt.	50 "	5,000.00
Puget Sound Lt. & Power Co. Pfd.	52 "	5,200.00
" " " " " " Common	5 "	500.00
" " " " " " Prior Pfd.	10 "	1,000.00
Electric Bond & Share Co. Pfd.	50 "	5,000.00
Old Colony Railroad	25 "	2,500.00
Par value	1778 "	$183,200.00

SCHEDULE OF SAVINGS BANK BOOKS

M. A. Parker Fund (Provident)	$1,708.66
Brattle St. Church Model Fund (Five Cents)	234.32
	$1,942.98

RECAPITULATION

Bonds, par value	$448,000.00
Stocks, par value	183,200.00
Savings Bank Books	1,942.98
	$633,142.98

BALANCE SHEET, March 31, 1924

Cash	$ 4,032.83	Funds	$544,711.10
Investment Account	580,381.36	Accrued Interest	39,703.09
	$584,414.19		$584,414.19

BUILDING FUND

Balance Cash, March 31, 1923		$2,195.99
Received from Subscriptions		1,525.00
Received from Interest	$1,366.88	
Less accrued Interest on bonds bought	32.91	1,333.97
American Tel. & Tel. Co. Notes Matured		6,000.00
		$11,054.96
Less Securities bought:		
2000 Bell Telephone of Canada, 7%	$2,065.00	
2000 Grand Rapids, Grand Haven & M., 5%	1,958.00	
6000 Lehigh Power Securities	5,925.00	9,948.00
Cash on hand, March 31, 1924		$1,106.96

RECAPITULATION

Received from Subscriptions		$23,450.91
" " Interest		3,600.05
" " Maturity of Investment		6,000.00
		$33,050.96
Bonds bought:		
10000 British Columbia	$9,981.00	
6000 Edison Electric	5,962.50	
6000 Am. Tel.	6,052.50	
2000 Bell Tel. of Canada	2,065.00	
2000 Grand Rapids, G. H. & M.	1,958.00	
6000 Lehigh Power	5,925.00	31,944.00
Cash on hand as stated		$1,106.96

EXHIBIT I

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Balance Account, April 1, 1923		$603,492.62
Securities, etc., added:		
10000 New York Central Lines, 5%, 1936	$9,604.19	
Brattle St. Church Fund Savings Bank	10.19	
M. A. Parker Fund Savings Bank	74.36	9,688.74
		$613,181.36
Less Securities matured or sold:		
10000 South Western Bell Telephone (called)	$10,200.00	
1000 Kingdom of Belgium (called)	1,150.00	
2000 Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill (matured)	2,000.00	
10000 Washington Water Power	9,950.00	
10000 United Electric Light & Power Co.	9,500.00	32,800.00
Balance, March 31, 1924		$580,381.36

EXHIBIT II

INCREASE OF FUNDS IN YEAR 1923–1924

Total of Funds, April 1, 1923		$539,494.29
Added during year:		
Centenary Funds:		
Anonymous Fund	$ 388.30	
J. L. Sibley Fund	4,488.61	
Adams Fund	1,566.04	
General Fund	153.00	6,595.95
		$546,090.24
Less charged to Waterston Library Fund		1,379.14
Total of Funds, March 31, 1924		$544,711.10

EXHIBIT III

ACCUMULATED INCOME OF FUNDS

Balance Accumulated Income, April 1, 1923		$66,356.80
Income during year		48,389.95
		$114,746.75
Added to Principal Centenary Funds	$ 4,876.91	
Expenditures during year	71,545.89	
	$76,422.80	
Charged to Waterston Library Fund	1,379.14	75,043.66
Balance, March 31, 1924		$39,703.09

EXHIBIT IV

CASH ACCOUNT

Balance on hand, April 1, 1923			$2,358.47
Receipts during year:			
Publications	$ 4,176.04		
Photostat	5,319.59		
Gift of Mr. W. B. H. Dowse	1,200.00		
Rebates	41.20		
Sale of Duplicates	108.00		
Credited to General Fund Income	$10,844.83		
Income from Investments	37,075.84		
Interest from Bank	384.73		
Interest on Savings Bank Books	84.55		
Total Income	$48,389.95		
Credited to Income of Various Funds		$43,513.04	
" " Principal Centenary Funds		4,876.91	
Royalties credited to Adams Fund		1,566.04	
" " " General Fund		153.00	
Investment Account:			
Securities sold or matured		32,800.00	
		$82,908.99	
Charges during year to March 31, 1924:			
Securities bought	$9,604.19		
Additions to Savings Bank Books:			
Added to Investment Account	84.55	9,688.74	
		$73,220.25	73,220.25
Income Account:			
Bindery		$ 1,456.15	
Binding		328.55	
Books & Manuscripts		4,074.49	
Carry forward		$5,859.19	$75,578.72

CASH ACCOUNT — *Continued*

Brought forward		$5,859.19	$75,578.72
Building:			
Cleaning	$ 675.98		
Engineer	1,248.00		
Fuel	1,091.50		
Furniture	843.01		
Insurance	187.69		
Light	531.19		
Repairs	2,036.06		
" special	23,630.15		
Telephone	151.86		
Water	95.48	30,490.92	
Exhibition		120.00	
Photostat:			
Salary	$1,800.00		
Paper	2,243.90		
Developing	376.75		
Binding	1,046.80		
Rectigraph Drying Outfit	217.50	5,684.95	
Portraits and Medals		278.80	
Postage		227.50	
Printing:			
Proceedings, vol. 56	$2,917.93		
" " 57	402.17		
Illustrations	156.40		
Reprints	40.00		
Coolidge Autobiography	974.09		
House Journal	3,738.96		
Numismatics	4,372.53		
Winthrop Papers	482.00		
Miscellaneous	83.50	13,167.58	
Salaries:			
Librarian and Assistants	$6,150.00		
Editor and Assistants	7,560.00	13,710.00	
Stationery		162.54	
Treasurer's Office:			
Bond	$ 25.00		
Bookkeeper	1,000.00		
Safe Deposit Vault	60.00		
Certified Public Accountant	150.00	1,235.00	
Miscellaneous		609.41	
Total Expenses		$71,545.89	$71,545.89
Balance on hand, March 31, 1924			$4,032.83

EXHIBIT V

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS

	Balance Mar.31,'23	Income	Payments	Balance Mar.31,'24	Principal of Funds
Adams	$3,241.27	$ 2,457.18	$ 5,450.00	$ 248.25	$ 34,811.68
Amory	2,155.72	221.72	2,198.00	179.44	3,000.00
Appleton	96.66	901.92	910.00	88.58	12,203.00
Bigelow	604.36	147.81	709.71	42.46	2,000.00
Billings	1,122.60	739.10	196.40	1,665.30	10,000.00
Boit	735.26	369.55		1,104.81	5,000.00
Brattle St.	124.13	10.19		134.32	100.00
Chamberlain	250.51	91.08	95.48	246.11	1,232.33
Dowse	48.20	739.10	750.00	37.30	10,000.00
Ellis	252.77	2,340.48	2,546.01	47.24	31,666.66
Frothingham	3,624.73	221.72	3,582.50	263.95	3,000.00
General	1,509.47	15,036.20	16,230.00	315.67	56,862.16
Hunnewell	4,072.23	369.55		4,441.78	5,000.00
Lawrence	1,719.29	221.72	971.09	969.92	3,000.00
Lowell	1,314.40	221.72	1,369.50	166.62	3,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	5,232.20	739.10	4,203.24	1,768.06	10,000.00
Parker	58.05	74.36	85.15	47.26	1,000.00
Peabody	7,275.65	1,635.18	6,824.71	2,086.12	22,123.00
Salisbury	225.71	369.55	546.75	48.51	5,000.00
Savage	1,331.76	443.46	463.36	1,311.86	6,000.00
Schouler	419.09	210.64		629.73	2,850.00
C. A. L. Sibley	927.28	1,663.67	2,404.13	186.82	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	8,037.62	8,948.80	11,342.16	5,644.26	121,077.00
Slafter	390.15	73.91	169.25	294.81	1,000.00
Chas. Card Smith	1,172.06	1,108.65	2,000.00	280.71	15,000.00
Waterston No. 1	1,883.12	369.55	375.00	1,877.67	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	5,217.98	739.10	799.70	5,157.38	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	4,765.56	739.10		5,504.66	10,000.00
Waterston Library	68.40	286.41	1,733.95		2,496.00
R. C. Winthrop	3,785.33	739.10	4,357.60	166.83	10,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	812.87	174.77	93.30	894.34	2,364.66
William Winthrop	1,721.76	369.55	575.90	1,515.41	5,000.00
Robert Winthrop	2,160.61	739.10	563.00	2,336.71	10,000.00
			$71,545.89		
Transferred to Waterston Library Fund			1,379.14		
Total	$66,356.80	$43,513.04	$70,166.75	$39,703.09	$442,295.97
Sibley Centenary		4,488.61			94,260.78
Anonymous Centenary		388.30			8,154.35
Total Income		$48,389.95			
Total Funds					$544,711.10

Report of the Librarian.

The accessions to the Library during the past year have been:

Books	1,628
Pamphlets	2,455
Manuscripts, bound	105
Broadsides, including photostats	435
Maps, including photostats	103
	4,726

This number of pieces is much larger than that reported a year ago. Similar additions from year to year to our overcrowded shelves suggest a vision of the ample spaces needed in which they should be placed so that the Library can render its best service. Such an ideal result toward which the society is surely approaching awaits the completion of the building fund. The present shifting collection will then come into an orderly, attractive and useful arrangement.

Meantime it is gratifying to have temporary relief. New shelves have been installed in two large rooms in the basement, which will accommodate some of the overflow from the rooms above, of newspapers, books, and pamphlets, less in general demand than others, partially relieving the congestion there. In the four new vaults, which have been fitted with shelving, there will be placed the most valued treasures of the Society and similar future accessions. The consequent rearrangement of the Society's collections will probably be completed during the summer months; but there will be still the lack of proper spaces for future additions, and the same longing for the proposed new stack, with its ample hall above, in the much desired enlargement of the building.

The use of the Library has been made easier by the recent installation of the elevator, which has saved much time and strength for the Library staff, made possible quicker service, and provided an easier access to the building. This great improvement, the new shelving, and the vaults, as well as the further work done to make the structure more completely fireproof, will give renewed encouragement to

those who may have valuable material in the way of books, manuscripts, and other historical pieces to place their treasures with the Society for safekeeping. Members and friends will have the continued opportunity to direct attention to these important features and to urge the saving here of such collections for future use.

The income of the funds which are devoted entirely to the purchase of books is not sufficient for the purpose. It has been necessary to draw upon the income of the General Fund to a considerable extent at times where it is likely often to interfere with some other expense to be charged to it. Purchases are made with great care, with a view to their special fitness in the Society's collection; and occasionally an opportunity offers to obtain important documents, which the limited income for the purpose will not allow to be done. Grateful appreciation is expressed to members who have generously given to the Library; and the hope is expressed that a wider interest may be aroused in the Society to contribute more rich material to its shelves.

Demands of increasing interest are constantly made upon the time of the Library staff; and prompt service is given to members and investigators desiring to consult the printed and manuscript sources in the Library. Every effort is made to bring the catalogue and the present shelf arrangement to their highest efficiency, as far as conditions will permit. Among the notable additions, which have been reported to the Society in detail from month to month, may be mentioned the valuable selection of manuscripts from the library of our late associate Frederick Lewis Gay relating to early Massachusetts history, from Mrs. Gay. Another collection deposited by Mr. Winslow Dwight, of Cambridge, contains the manuscripts of his late father, R. Henry W. Dwight, relating to the Dwight family and Western Massachusetts history. Mrs. Frederick C. Shattuck has added to her former gifts the papers of Thomas Lee, Jr., consisting of account, ledger, invoice, and letter books, kept in Boston during the first half of the last century.

The work of the bindery continues to be of great service to the Society. The large collection of papers of Chief-Justice Lemuel Shaw is in process of preparation for bind-

ing. At the same time a considerable amount of incidental work is done in lettering, and in cleaning and mounting single pieces on silk, and in other ways helping to improve the Library and the Cabinet.

The Society's maps and engravings are now in steel cases, one of which has been added during the year. A desirable change has been made in the arrangement of cases in the Waterston Library, so that the room can now be used as a reading room or for committee meetings. By a little ingenious treatment in other parts of the building, the various divisions of the Library may be made to offer more charm and interest in their use.

JULIUS H. TUTTLE
Librarian

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER.

The many gifts and other additions to the Cabinet have been fully reported each month and printed in the Proceedings, and it seems unnecessary to repeat them.

Dr. Storer, the Curator of coins and medals, reports that during the past year there have been added to the collection 1509 pieces of paper-money and 177 coins and medals — 28 of the latter being Massachusetts pieces, and 79 a collection of Lincoln medals.

Respectively submitted,
GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS.
Cabinet-Keeper.

April 10, 1924.

Dr. FENN read the

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND CABINET.

The Committee appointed to examine the Library and Cabinet met at the Building of the Society on the morning of Saturday, March 29th. and inspected both the library and the cabinet, accompanied by Mr. Tuttle and Mr. Norcross. Unfortunately, Mr. C. A. Coolidge was unable to meet with the Committee, and his name is appended to this report upon the basis of a separate examination.

The two points in which your Committee was particularly interested were the security and accessibility of the books in the library and the articles in the cabinet. The dangers to security arise mainly from fire, theft and bad housing conditions. Notwithstanding all precautions, there is some slight danger from fire which makes it highly desirable that books now on open shelves in various rooms should be placed together in a fire-proof stack. Security from theft seems to be well assured since the librarian was able to recall the loss from this cause of but a single book in many years. Housing conditions are by no means all that could be desired: the shelves are over crowded and many books are huddled together in piles upon the floors. Binding is somewhat in arrears on account of the greatly increased expense; home-made cases and covers have been ingeniously contrived, but cannot permanently take the place of substantial bindings. There are also broken bindings which should be promptly repaired.

With regard to accessibility, your Committee inquired into cataloguing, ease of finding books and the use of the library by others besides members. The cataloguing seems to be satisfactory and the separate entry of various items in a large collection of papers must be especially serviceable. The librarian reports that there is rarely any delay in procuring any book that may be desired, but it seems to your Committee that there is undue dependence upon the memory of the librarian and his assistants, since now and then the piles of books upon the floors have to be shifted. The librarian reports a gratifying increase in the use of the library by scholars, not members of the Society, who are engaged in historical research, and there is every disposition on his part to encourage such use. The photostat is of service also to scholars at a distance who are unable to visit the library. On the whole, therefore, it may be said that the literary treasures of the Society are reasonably accessible to students, but in the interest of both security and accessibility, there is urgent need of enlarged accommodations. This has been the burden of many previous reports, and the present Committee would emphatically indorse the recommendation of its predecessors that arrangements be made for the construction at the earliest possible moment of a light, airy and

spacious stack adequate to present possessions and future acquisitions. It is indecent that precious books should be so meanly housed.

W. W. Fenn, *Chairman*
Philip Hale
Charles A. Coolidge

As a result of his independent examination, Mr. Coolidge adds the following statement which there has been no opportunity to lay before the whole committee:

The salient fact is this, that it is impossible to have an orderly arrangement of books, and that no makeshift arrangement can be made to help the situation. The only thing to do, and as soon as possible, is to build in a new proper stack as it is impossible to add another series of stacks in the present room as the structure of the building is not strong enough to take it; also the committee should recommend to the members of the Society that they do everything that they can in their power to raise the requisite amount as soon as they can to cover this work. This new stack should have arrangements for Mr. Ford similar to the modern stacks in the Harvard library, so that he can do his editorial work in connection with them.

Charles A. Coolidge.

Dr. Farlow, for the Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, made a report upon which a ballot was taken.

The officers are as follows:

President.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Vice-Presidents.

ARTHUR LORD.
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS.

Recording Secretary.

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM.

Corresponding Secretary.
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Treasurer.
ALLAN FORBES.

Librarian.
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE.

Cabinet-Keeper.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

Editor.
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Members-at-Large of the Council.
FRANCIS RUSSELL HART.
ROBERT GRANT.
CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH.
MALCOLM STORER.
HAROLD MURDOCK.

Mr. MAYO read a paper on

COLONEL JOHN STARK AT WINTER HILL, 1775.

On February 21, 1777 the Continental Congress appointed ten new brigadier-generals in the American army.[1] Washington had urged this action more than once, for he felt that the service would be improved if there were at least one brigadier-general to every three or four regiments. Furthermore he had recommended that each of these new officers be from the same state as the brigade which he was to command.[2] So it came about that Glover of Massachusetts, Varnum of Rhode Island, Wayne of Pennsylvania, and a half-dozen others were appointed brigadiers. The senior colonel of the New Hampshire forces was John Stark, and

[1] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VII. 141.
[2] *Writings of George Washington* (Ford), I. 117, 192–194.

it was to be expected that he would be promoted. But it turned out otherwise. Congress appointed Colonel Enoch Poor of Exeter instead. Stark, who was in New Hampshire recruiting his regiment, immediately resigned his commission and retired to his farm at Dunbarton, where he remained until the New Hampshire Congress persuaded him to come forth and obstruct Burgoyne's progress four or five months later.

As far as I am aware this action on the part of the Continental Congress has never been satisfactorily explained. Why should Congress have passed over Stark? Why should the New Hampshire delegates, who presumably determined the nomination, have preferred Colonel Poor? Certainly no one could deny that Stark had fought well at Bunker Hill and more recently at Trenton and Princeton. Poor, too, had a good record. His regiment was not at the rail fence on June 17, 1775, to be sure, but he had given a good account of himself since that time, especially in the dismal retreat from Canada in the summer of '76. Both men had proved themselves good soldiers. But in the matter of seniority Stark came first. He had been a captain in Major Robert Rogers' Rangers in the Old French War, whereas Poor had seen no service prior to his appointment as colonel in May, 1775.[1] Recognizing these facts the New Hampshire Convention had appointed Stark colonel of the First New Hampshire Regiment, and Poor of the Second. Apparently the same precedence was observed in the Continental army of 1776, in which Stark commanded the Fifth Regiment, and Poor the Eighth. Now, in February, 1777, Stark was passed over. Why, why was this?

A gradual and not unnatural outgrowth of the incident is the tradition that is was a shameful injustice. Belknap, always temperate, gave merely the bare facts of the case when writing of it about 1790: "A junior officer had been promoted whilst he [Stark] was neglected. He had written on this subject to Congress, and his letters were laid on the table." An anonymous biographical sketch, printed at Concord in 1831, really started the ball rolling by declaring,

[1] *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of New Hampshire for 1866*, II. 297.

"The cause was easily traced to some officers of high rank and members of congress who were displeased with his unbending character."[1] In 1887 an article in the *Massachusetts Magazine* elaborated still more upon the theme after this manner: "Certain prominent members of congress and officers of high rank and aristocratic associations, more familiar with the polite usages of town society than with the simple manners of the frontier settlers, were displeased with the rugged and unbending character and blunt speech of this backwoods colonel, and used their influence against him with such effect that in the new list of promotions made that winter by congress his name was omitted and several officers of lower rank were promoted over him."[2] Since the story had reached this point in 1887, one can hardly blame the orator of the day for his remarks at the dedication of the statue of Stark in front of the state house at Concord in 1890. To this gentleman it was clear that Stark was "subordinated by political trickery" and "humiliated by official influence in Congress or the army, jealous of his exalted character and glorious achievements."[3] By 1899 the tradition was so well established that the late Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, though a little vague, was ready to pass it along. "By some wretched intrigue at Philadelphia," he wrote, "no notice had been taken of his merits."[4] Finally Trevelyan, less censorious and perhaps a little wary, phrased it more gracefully in 1907. "Congress, enamoured of mediocrities, ignored his claims for promotion."[5]

The New Hampshire delegates at Philadelphia in February, 1777, were William Whipple of Portsmouth and Matthew Thornton of Londonderry. It is safe to say, I think, that of all the members of the Continental Congress in that year, solid, sensible William Whipple would have been about the last to involve himself in anything resembling an intrigue. With Dr. Thornton I do not feel so well acquainted, but I have no reason to think that he was not as straightforward

[1] *Memoir of General Stark*, published at Concord in 1831 by Luther Roby.

[2] *Massachusetts Magazine*, June, 1887, 14.

[3] *The Statue of General John Stark, a Sketch* (Manchester, 1893), 38.

[4] New Hampshire Historical Society's *Proceedings*, III. 404.

[5] George Otto Trevelyan's *American Revolution*, Part III. 130.

as he was entertaining — and he must have been the latter, for even John Adams conceded that he was "as droll and funny as Tristram Shandy."[1] How came it then that Whipple and Thornton should have preferred Poor to Stark when there was an opportunity to make one or the other a brigadier-general? A possible clue, it seems to me, is to be found in Stark's peculiar behavior at Winter Hill about a year before this time. That episode is graphically described in a letter which is preserved among the Weare Papers now in the possession of the New Hampshire Historical Society.[2] The letter was written by Colonel Samuel Hobart of Exeter, who had been sent down to Massachusetts to pay the New Hampshire soldiers at the siege of Boston.[3] It is headed "Medford, January 1, 1776." and is addressed to "The Honorable Congress for the State of New Hampshire."

GENTLEMEN: — Since my arrival to this place I have been exceeding busy in assisting, preparing and examining the pay rolls of the several companies belonging to our colony, which has taken up more time than I expected, supposing when I came away that the rolls were made ready for examination. But as the form in which they were made was so different from the form of the Massachusetts they were obliged to make them all over again, and the first roll that was examined and passed ready for payment was yesterday. Immediately upon which I began to pay (observing the directions of the Honorable Congress). I had paid off about half Capt. Town's company in Mr. Benj. Hall's counting-room in this town, it being about four o'clock in the afternoon, [when] about thirty or forty men with fife and drum and bayonets fixed marched to the front of Mr. Hall's house, where they halted and stood formed. Two or three of them came in at the fore door, and called upon Mr. Hall for me. He came to me and let me know it. I told him that I was very busy paying off some soldiers and that I would wait on them in a few minutes. He returned and told them. They told him that they would not wait, but must see me immediately. Mr. Hall came and let me know what they demanded, upon which I immediately went to the fore door to them and asked what they wanted.

[1] Charles Thornton Adams' *Matthew Thornton of New Hampshire;* also *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife Abigail,* 251.

[2] "Weare Papers" (Ms.), IV. folio 3.

[3] *New Hampshire State Papers,* VII. 678, 697.

They told me Colonel Stark had ordered them to come and carry me up to the Hill. I asked them the meaning of his orders. They told me it was not for them to say, but that it was Colonel Stark's positive orders that they should carry me up to the camp, and he would let me know the meaning of these things. They, they said, came for me, and go I must and go I should. Some of them getting behind me pushed [me] out of the door. I told them that I had left a large sum of money on the table, papers, etc., etc., and told them that I should be glad to go and take care of them before I went. They says, "No, you shall not enter the house again till you have been to Col. Stark's." I endeavoured in as cool and dispassionate a manner as possible to convince them that they were wrong, that they were hurting the common cause, that they had no right to force me from my lodgings, money, papers, etc. But no arguments would prevail. They ordered me to march, took hold of me, pulled and pushed me along — would not suffer me to ride. I asked them the liberty of my hat and loose coat, which were in the house. They would not suffer me to go in to get them, but with some persuasion they suffered them to be brought and allowed me to wear them. (This conference lasted as near as I can judge about fifteen minutes, during which time sundry of them treated me with the most scandalous reflections.) They then put me between four fixed bayonets and marched me to Winter Hill to Col. Stark's barracks, and conducted me into his room, where he was. About twenty of them went into his room with me.

After some minutes standing (he seeming to be a little busy) I asked him the meaning of this manoeuvre, and how he came to order me there in such a manner. He answered that he had not ordered it. I asked how it was possible for them to do what they had done unless it was by his order. He replied that he did not order them, but that he gave them leave to go and bring me up. I told him that I thought it to be the most extraordinary movement that ever I heard of in my life, that it was very [word omitted in the original] and abusive. He told me that it was good enough for me, and that it was well that the men had not hanged me on Mistick Bridge.

I told him that I was much surprised to hear him talk in that manner, that he ought not to treat and abuse a servant of the Colony of New Hampshire in such a manner, that he did not consider that he was treating the *Colony* ill, etc. He says, "I don't care a damn for the Province of New Hampshire, nor for the Congress. There is a pack of damned tories at the head of the

Congress;" that the Congress had imposed upon him and his regiment; that he had been formerly in that province service, and that it had taken him six months to make up his roll and get it examined there, and thanked God that he had got out of their service, and said that he never would be in it again — and many other things etc., etc., which are too long to write.

Upon the whole I asked him liberty to go to the general's, and it was some time before I could get leave to go unless the men should conduct me there. But finally I obtained leave, and he ordered the men to go to their barracks, who obeyed him immediately. And he went with me and sundry other officers to General Sullivan's where I laid the matter before him. The General begged that the matter might be settled, and was very sorry for what had happened; promised me protection; said that he would confine Colonel Stark and all his regiment if a proper complaint was exhibited, but begged that I would continue paying off the men, that the public cause would suffer if I returned to Exeter. And upon this representation of the matter and promising that satisfaction should be made, I concluded to tarry. And about twelve o'clock at night I arrived to my lodgings. And upon my return Mr. Hall informed me that there was no money on the table when he went into the counting-room. And upon the best computation I could make there was about 260[£] on the table when I left the room.

The loss of the money together with the treatment I had met with prevented my rest last night. I am very unfit for any business this day. I know not what to do. I am almost distracted, but the pressing necessity that the men are in for their money, the injury that the public cause will suffer if they are kept out of it appear so great that I tarry, and am trying to pay the men as fast as I can. I have not, nor cannot represent to you in a true light the abuse that I have received, and the reflections cast upon the Colony.

Gentlemen, I have thought it my duty to give you the earliest information of this matter, and as I came here to fulfil and execute your commands I don't presume to take any step or method for a redress of these grievances until I am particularly instructed by you whose commands I shall always with the utmost readiness obey. Gentlemen, I am in such a confused state of mind that I hope you will excuse and pardon me in troubling you in this manner, and am, Gentlemen, your most obedient and humble servant

SAMUEL HOBART.

There is something in the tone of the latter part of Colonel Hobart's letter that tends to make one feel a spark of sympathy for Colonel Stark, especially when one considers that the interview took place toward the end of what may have been a long, hard day. But the leaders of the New Hampshire government could hardly be expected to react in that manner. This was not the first complaint about Stark that had come to their ears. After the battle of Bunker Hill General Folsom, who was then commander-in-chief of the New Hampshire contingent, had reported that Stark had refused to make a return of the losses sustained by his regiment, and had even gone so far as to proclaim his independence of any superior officer from his home province.[1] As he had not then actually received his New Hampshire commission there was something to be said for his claim — if not for his attitude — and the dispute soon blew over. But this outburst of December 31 was a different matter. Now he had insulted an official representative of the revolutionary government of New Hampshire, and as if that were not sufficient had expressed his contempt for its leaders in very outspoken language. Something must be done.

Who were these gentlemen at the head of the government at Exeter whom he so roundly condemned? First and foremost was Matthew Thornton, who had been President of the Congress (or more properly of the Convention) since the preceding May. At his right hand was William Whipple, a member of the Committee of Safety and colonel of the First Regiment of militia. And although the government of New Hampshire was reorganized at just this time these two remained not far from the top. Under the new constitution there was no executive branch, but there was an upper house or council, the twelve members of which doubtless considered themselves to be the head of the state. The first three councillors were Meshech Weare, Matthew Thornton, and William Whipple.

When Col. Hobart's letter arrived at Exeter the old Congress was still in session. Thornton immediately laid the matter before it, and a committee was appointed to draft

[1] *New Hampshire State Papers*, VII. 528, 530.

a letter to General Washington, another to General Sullivan, and still another to Col. Hobart. In the letter to Washington, which Thornton signed in behalf of the Congress, the committee complained primarily not of Stark but of the ill treatment of Col. Hobart by men of the Continental Army in Stark's regiment. They took care, however, to enclose a copy of Hobart's letter and requested an immediate inquiry which should lead to the punishment of those found guilty, the reimbursement of New Hampshire for " so great a loss of money " and finally the wiping out of Stark's " illiberal reflections " by suitable acknowledgments.[1]

A few days later Washington and Sullivan, at Cambridge, discussed the situation. They agreed that Stark must be called to account, but as he had " gone into the country recruiting " the inquiry could not be made at once. By the middle of January he had returned, and on the seventeenth of the month Sullivan assured the New Hampshire Congress that " a Court of Enquiry will sit upon him tomorrow or next day." " You may depend," he added, " that notwithstanding I esteem Stark as a worthy good officer I will do everything in my power to punish any insult he may have been guilty of offering to the Colony." [2]

The court was held, General Greene presiding, and at its conclusion Washington communicated the outcome to Dr. Thornton. Stark had been made to see that he was very blamable, he wrote, and had written an acknowledgment of his fault which was enclosed. Washington hoped that this would prove satisfactory to the gentlemen of the Congress, for Stark was " a good officer, who understands and does his duty." But if Thornton and the others should insist upon a court martial, a court martial there should be.

To apologize to anyone could not have been an easy matter for John Stark, but on this occasion he did so and in an admirable manner. After reciting the nature of the episode, and pleading that on that unfortunate occasion he was already wearied with the men's complaints for want of pay and much perplexed with other business, he asked the New Hampshire Congress for their forgiveness, and begged

[1] *New Hampshire State Papers*, VII. 707.
[2] *Ib.*, VIII. 32.

to assure them that his "warm and illiberal reflections" upon some of the members had "proceeded only from heat and passion, and not from any settled design to slander or defame them."[1]

Thus the incident was virtually closed. With Sullivan it seems to have hurt Stark not at all, for six weeks after the court of inquiry gave its decision he recommended him to John Adams as the colonel most fit to be made a brigadier-general.[2] But it does not necessarily follow that Thornton and Whipple forgave and forgot so easily. Sullivan was not included among those whom Stark aspersed that afternoon on Winter Hill. Thornton and Whipple were. A little more than a year later they, as members of the Continental Congress, took part in the election of ten new brigadiers. Can one blame them if in that election they were inclined by impulse and by judgment to favor the promotion of almost any deserving New Hampshire colonel other than John Stark?

Mr. FORD read a paper on

FRANKLIN'S NEW ENGLAND COURANT.

In April, 1792, there came to the Society "several numbers" of the *New England Courant*,[3] the third newspaper printed in Boston and the fourth in the British American colonies. These numbers began with No. 17, November 27, 1721, and extended to No. 252, June 4, 1726, wanting twenty-nine numbers to be complete. As it was, the file was unique and in his recent census of newspapers in all American libraries, Mr. Brigham, our authority on the subject, could locate no issues which could add to what was in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Indeed there are very few copies of the newspapers to be found anywhere, according to his list. Our file came to the Society from Benjamin Burt through John Eliot, then its librarian. The first number in the volume bears the manuscript note: "Borrowed of

[1] *New Hampshire State Papers*, VIII. 70.
[2] Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings*, 1875–76, p. 285.
[3] *Proceedings*, I. 33.

Mr. Benjamin Burt of Boston. J. Eliot," showing that even in that day the gentler arts of book collecting were not unknown, and suggesting that our librarian inherited the name of the Apostle to the Indians but also came into his conscience a little damaged — so far as borrowing books. It has long been wished that the file could be completed, but in almost two centuries only two additional issues have been found, and they came to light quite recently. These copies carried the publication of the paper three weeks further than was shown by the Society's file.[1] They went to the American Antiquarian Society, but Mr. Brigham, recognizing the eminent fitness of the transfer, added them to our file — a graceful act, quite in a line with the policy which dictated the return of the Trumbull Papers to Connecticut.

What gives the *New England Courant* its special interest is the fact that it was established and printed by James Franklin. His younger brother, Benjamin Franklin, on it served his apprenticeship as a printer and Benjamin's earliest known writings appeared in its columns. The story told in the *Autobiography* is well known.

In January, 1922, about one hundred and thirty years after the original gift, there came to the Society without warning from John Clyde Oswald of New York, Editor of *The American Printer* and author of *Benjamin Franklin, Printer,* photostats of the two pages of No. 80 of the *New England Courant,* February 11, 1723. This issue had been reproduced before and more than once. The Oswald photostats were laid into our file at their proper place as curiosities rather than as anything in addition to what was already there. Fortunately the prints had not been trimmed to the quick as is usually the habit of photostat operators. Some time after I had occasion to consult the volume and noted that the photostats had not been made from the Society's copy of No. 80, and showed a thin slice of newspapers before and after No. 80. Comparison with our volume showed them to be slices of the second page of No. 79

[1] It is not yet known how long the paper continued to be printed after June 25, 1726, and the *Boston News-Letter* of March 9, 1727, speaks of the "Late Courant." It is more than probable the journal fell off in circulation and died for want of support.

and of the first page of No. 81. The natural suggestion was that the volume photostated was a file of the *New England Courant* other than ours, or was composed of miscellaneous newspapers of the time, always a good find to the investigator in its possibilities. Mr. Oswald was asked whence he obtained his reproduction and he courteously replied from a volume in the British Museum. I then requested Mr. Henry J. Brown, of London, to let one of his experts examine the volume in the Museum and if it did indeed contain the *New England Courant* to give me a collation of its run. A prompt return told me that no such file and no issue of the paper wanted were in the Museum. This is a form of check in research work all too common to be discouraging. A hurried pencil note, a slip in a number, a fault of memory — many excuses might be suggested. I informed Mr. Oswald that the Museum did not admit ownership of a *New England Courant* and requested a better or corrected location. He then wrote that he had received his photograph from a London photographer who had made it from the original in the British Museum. That did not seem to bring us much nearer, but Mr. Oswald gave the name and address of the photographer, and from him Mr. Brown learned that the paper was in the Burney Collection — a famous collection of seventeenth and eighteenth century newspapers — not yet catalogued and therefore not mentioned in the ordinary handbooks of the Museum. It was found to be under the press mark N. R. 214 and the volume was lettered "Newspapers, 1721–1737." A collation of the contents was sent to me. Imagine my delight when it proved to have Nos. 1–111 of the *New England Courant*, wanting only two issues, Nos. 7 and 62. The latter is in the Society's file. With the Museum papers was a broadside bound in between Nos. 6 and 8.

It now remained to obtain rotographs of what was needed to round out our file and those I received in due time from Mr. Frederick J. Hall of the Oxford University Press. I had been informed in the collation that on the broadside was found the name of Rev. Thomas Walter, a clergyman of Roxbury, who compiled some hymn books and published a sermon or two. Though it is not usual to find noted the

name of the actual subscriber or person receiving the paper,[1] I looked for Walter's name on the sheet entitled, *The Little Compton Scourge: or the Anti-Courant,* and on it the note in a large round hand "The Revd. Mr. Thomas Walter of Roxbury" was written across the page and under the caption of the sheet. That was not the style in which a subscriber would be addressed nor would the name of a subscriber be placed in that odd situation. In turning over the photostats I had noticed that names or initials were on almost every one and a little examination confirmed a first impression that they could only indicate the authorship of the articles. As a final test I turned to the first of the "Silence Dogood" articles, known to be Franklin's, and there found the initials B. F. It was not necessary to go further.

For the first time we have a file of a colonial newspaper with certain proof of the authorship of the contents. These names and initials extended to No. 43, May 28, 1722, and then ceased, but there were enough for our purpose. The next suggestion arose from the writing of these names, the best commercial hand of the early part of the eighteenth century, having a certain familiar appearance which I would hesitate to assert without some further evidence. Certainly no one who was not in the printing office of the paper could prepare such a list, for names of writers, in a day when controversies were heated and inclined to be personal, would not be shouted from the house top. A participant in a controversy would not have kept a record of articles on other subjects. The manuscript notes were all in one writing and that alone sufficed to point to some one in Franklin's office. No example of the writing of James Franklin has been found — not so much as a signature. The alternative was to question Benjamin Franklin and to him my first suspicions were turned by the writing. Apart from the writing every name or initial has its title of respect — Mr., Dr., Captain, Rev. Mr. and the like — except B. F., where the letters stand without title or word of respect. James Franklin would not have de-

[1] When did the first newsboy appear in the Colonies? The *Boston News-Letter* and the *Post-Boy and Advertiser,* both issued verses to serve as carriers' addresses in 1761 (Ford, 1259, 1260), the earliest dated Massachusetts examples I have found.

scribed himself as Mr. J. Franklin or Mr. J. F. Only Benjamin would thus have set himself apart without title. Another bit of evidence is found. The file ends with No. 111, September 16, 1723. Benjamin is supposed to have left Boston in September or October, 1723, and on September 30 James Franklin advertised for a "likely lad for an Apprentice," supposedly to supply the place of Benjamin. The file would seem to show that the last issue of the *New England Courant* in which Benjamin had any part was that for September 16 and soon after Benjamin left Boston. The paper continued to have Benjamin's name as its printer to the last known issue, in June, 1726, nearly three full years after he had gone to Philadelphia. The London file marks the time of Benjamin's true connection with the journal, and must have been his personal file. It shows his early methodical habits — he was seventeen when he broke with his brother — and at a later time it may have been in his library as a record of his apprentice years. Incidentally it may be noted that these annotations are the earliest specimens of Franklin's writing found.

A list of the contributors to the first issues of the *New England Courant* would disclose one phase of literary Boston at that time. We could construct a list from Evans of more general import, but it would include few who wrote occasional essays, articles of controversy or even poems — the lighter forms of literary intention, debate and amusement. Taking the issues of the Boston presses for ten years — using the first year of the *New England Courant* as a middle point — it will be seen that much was published to prepare one for the next world, but little to amuse one in this. In the ten years 1717–1726 the two most promising items were printed by James Franklin — *News from the Moon* (1721), a burlesque on the trial of a fellow printer, and *Hoop Petticoats arraigned and condemned by the Light of Nature and Law of God* (1722),[1] which would have been a serious work issued by any other publisher. Darby Dawne's *Health, a Poem* (1724) is somewhat didactic, for it ends

[1] In 1714 had appeared in Boston a poem on *The Origin of the Whale-Bone Petticoat,* of which the only known copy is in the British Museum. It forms No. 141 in the Photostat Americana Series.

with a "Doctor's Decade" and was not of Boston origin. Nor did the labored skit on the *Indictment and Tryal of Sr. Richard Rum* prove that Boston could take on a lighter tone.[1]

Such a barren record indicates that Boston did not suffer from an excess of light literature. Few men of the day wielded a ready pen of satire, of verse, or of story, and such writing in the printed book seemed out of place in the community. The newspapers alone could offer an outlet to the few in number who could turn off a squib, a letter, an allegory, or an attack upon a local institution or an opponent. The columns of the *Boston News-Letter* are quite free from communications sent in by those moved to write, and its official relations, as the organ for publishing executive orders and proclamations, would restrain a tendency to too free criticism. The *Boston Gazette,* established in 1719 and the second newspaper to be published in Boston — or New England — was weighted by its connection with the Post Office, its publisher, Musgrave, being the Postmaster. It indulged in mild literature, but in a desultory manner, little inviting to the advanced reformers of the day. Some definite object or person must be the target, but the time had not come when the writer could select his object. The church was waning in influence, but it was still powerful and could make it unsafe to attack it or its agents. The magistrates were, as they always are, sensitive to ridicule or criticism, and wielded a power which could be unpleasant for its victim — as James Franklin learned to his cost. If there were poets, essayists, budding politicians, and sufferers from social conditions or official oppression, they had no vent for their feeling in print. It was to provide that element with a mouthpiece that the *New England Courant* was established. It so happened that the opening contribution in No. 1 — the salutatory — was by John Checkley, a bookseller at the Sign of the Crown and Blue Gate against the Town-House, who had two years before been under suspicion of disaffection to his Majesty and his government — whatever that might mean, and two years after was to be denounced by Cotton Mather as infamous, a blasphemer and Toryman — whatever that

[1] Even in broadside poems and ballads James Franklin had no rival. *Collections,* LXXV.

might mean when originating in Cotton Mather, most of whose dislikes were based upon purely personal reasons, and whose language of denunciation was not measured by the supposed iniquity. Checkley wrote:

"It's an hard Case that a Man can't appear in Print now a Days, unless he'll undergo the Mortification of Answering to ten thousand senseless and Impertinent Questions," and after promising to give an impression of his person and rare endowments he continues:

> And to engage the World to converse farther with us, they'l find me in the good Company of a certain Set of Men, of whom I hope to give a very good Account,
>
> Who like faithful Shepherds take care of their *Flocks*,
> By teaching and practising what's Orthodox,
> Pray hard against *Sickness*, yet preach up the *POX!*
>
> N.B. This Paper will be published once a Fortnight, and out of meer kindness to my *Brother-Writers*, I intend now and then to be (like them) *very, very dull;* for I have a strong Fancy, that unless I am sometimes flat and low, this Paper will not be very grateful to them.

In the second issue appears a notice probably prepared by the publisher, though Dr. Douglass' name is written over it and certainly applies to the article immediately following the notice. The printer puts out a prospectus or feeler:

> At the desire of several Gentlemen in Town, this Paper is to be published weekly. The Publisher earnestly desires his Friends may favour him from time to time, with some short Piece, *Serious; Sarcastick, Ludicrous,* or otherways amusing; or sometimes *professedly Dull,* (to accomodate some of his Acquaintance) that this Courant may be of the more universal Use.
>
> The Undertaker promiseth, that nothing shall here be inserted, reflecting on the Clergy (as such) of whatever Denomination, nor relating to the Affairs of Government, and no Trespass against Decency or good Manners.

Apart from a promise of a more full and methodical account of foreign and domestic affairs in the near future, the publisher ceased to push his sheet and left it to his contribu-

tors to prove its merit. Perhaps unwisely, as the sequel proved.

The names of contributors noted in this Franklin file throw some light upon the writers of Boston at that time. Mr. Slafter in the introduction to his study of Checkley [1] speaks of a "coterie of humorists" in Boston, naming Checkley, Thomas Walter, "the equal of Checkley in caustic humor, and more than his equal in personal invective," John Read, the lawyer, Mather Byles and Joseph Green. But Byles and Green belong to a later period for they were both born in 1706, Checkley and Read were both born in 1680, and Walter was only nine years older than Byles, occupying a middle position among the five. Mr. Slafter would have been delighted to include or make note of Checkley's essays of the *New England Courant* in his Prince Society volumes, and he would have been pleased to learn of the other "wits" who either added a literary tone to Franklin's journal, or were instrumental in dragging it down in the eyes of the conservative and somewhat bigoted rulers of Boston. There can be no question of the reception given to the *Courant;* it was in bad odor from the start with those who had it in their power to make it uncomfortable for the printer. It was not so much the somewhat rough chaff that was exchanged between Campbell and Franklin that caused the difficulty, as the opposition of the *Courant* to inoculation for the smallpox. That question at once brought in the ministers, for under the lead of the Mathers a number of the ministers of eminence zealously favored inoculation and admitted no question on its efficacy. Not content with earthly support, the opinions of physicians, the record of cases, and the experience abroad, they called in Divinity and gravely discussed the question whether transplanting the smallpox was a lawful practice and had been blessed by God for the saving of many a life. Such a dispute on such grounds was admirably adapted to please all, for it could be drawn out to infinity with a liberal quotation of scripture and a refinement of logic that gave a great advantage to graduates of the college — the ministers.

[1] Prince Society Publications.

That there were clergymen and physicians opposed to inoculation only made the dispute the more furious and the *New England Courant* represented this anti-inoculation feeling. In fact it was charged that the paper was established to take that side of the question and the offer of Franklin to print moderately expressed views on both sides was received with scoffs.

The stronger clergy being against the *Courant* from the start on the matter of inoculation their indignation and opposition were redoubled by a communication in No. 3, which was the work of John Checkley. Had the authorship been known at the time the career of Checkley might have ended then and there and not have been prolonged to serve as a chapter in the evolution of religious tolerance in Massachusetts-Bay. The article was in shocking taste. It was intended as a reply to Walter's *Little-Compton Scourge,* and Walter (probably suspected or even known to be the author) is described as the Town Bully of the cause, a drunkard and debauchee, to prove which a letter of little credit to the supposed writer, signed T. W., is given, again suggesting that Walter's hand in the *Scourge* had been recognized.[1] Checkley then described a situation that is unpardonably offensive and ends his essay with the lines

> No Wonder *Tom* thou wert so wroth
> Since *Bacchus* did inspire,
> 'Twas *Rum, raw Rum* and *Cyder* both
> That rous'd thy *Grubstreet* Ire.

This communication was at once taken up as an attack, and a particularly vicious one, on the clergy. So great was the outcry that the printer was obliged to apologize in the following fashion in No. 5:

> Several Gentlemen in Town believing that this Paper (by what was inserted in No. 3.) was published with a Design to bring the Persons of the Clergy into Contempt, the Publisher thinks himself oblig'd to give Notice, that he has chang'd his Author; and promises, that nothing for the future shall be inserted, any-

[1] Could drink have led to the "entanglements" which threatened Walter's early career?

ways reflecting on the Clergy or Government, and nothing but what is innocently Diverting. *N. B.* Any short Piece declaring either for or against Inoculation, may be inserted in this Paper, provided it be free from malicious Reflections.

The statement appears to have been correct, for Checkley's name is not again noted in Franklin's columns.

While I question whether Checkley had been recognized as one of Franklin's writers, and the fact, if known, would have been used against him in his later trials, the hand of Douglass was seen or admitted. In his *Some Further Accounts from London, of the Small-Pox Inoculated,* published in February, 1722, Increase Mather pays attention to "one whose Name is Douglas" in no complimentary language.

Suppose a Young Blade, a Practitioner in *Physick* should go from *New-England* over to *Scotland,* and being yet but a *New-Comer* there, and *meer stranger* (kindly cherished & brought into Practice by the Charitable Ministers there) he should publish bitter and scoffing *Satyrs* mixed with *gross Lies* in matters of fact upon the most Eminent *Ministers* there, and call them an hundred times *Contemtible Parsons,* Men destitute of *Probity,* destitute of *Piety,* unable to write any thing but what is *vain, silly blundring;* Men of *wicked desires,* and *wicked designs, whimsical* and *unlearned* Men, and *Murderers* of the People, and laugh at the People for being such *Devotees* to them, as to think such sorry *Conscience Keepers* worthy to be consulted in *Cases of Conscience,* and propose to *banish* them out of *Scotland,* that there might be no more of their *Praying, Preaching* and *Scribling* there: And when his hand is in propose that what the said *wicked Ministers* have incouraged should be Prosecuted as *Felony:* But because the *Magistrates* of *Scotland* are wiser Men than to take the Law from him, then to scoff at them as *Judicious* Coxcombs, and as being in such an *humour* that no Justice can be expected from them: I say, in *Scotland* . . . how would such a *New-Englander* be dealt withal? I don't ask, whither the *Government* would send him? But I ask how would the *People* (that love their Ministers, and they deserve it) look upon such a piece of wickedness! [1]

A worthy Person who knows *Scotland* very well, said lately, that if *Douglas* should do by the Ministers in *Scotland* as he

[1] Mather in the same tract says that the Church in Scotland would deliver Douglass to Satan.

has done by those in *New-England,* they would put him into the *Pillory,* and after that the People would show other Marks of their displeasure at him.

Such a direct invitation to lawlessness hardly befitted a clergyman to make, whatever the provocation.[1] The immediate cause of Douglass' attack was a communication signed by six ministers of Boston[2] printed in the *Boston Gazette,* July 27, 1721, in reply to an attack on Dr. Zabdiel Boylston printed in the *Boston News-Letter,* July 24, signed "W. Philanthropos." It is safe to say that W. Philanthropos was Douglass, for only an experienced physician could have written the letter and he used the signature "W. Anti-inoculator" in the *New England Courant.* Douglass asserted that the six ministers "without any weight of Argument, by meer importunity, and reiterated Praying, Preaching, and Scribling (*gutta cavit lapidem non vi sed sæpe cadendo*) do indeavour that the infatuation of Self-procuring the Small Pox, may become universal." He advises the "older Man" — that is, Increase Mather, puzzle himself in solving *Cases of Conscience,* and the young Man [Cotton Mather] write some Observations or a Physical Account of a Phantom he does not comprehend." Naturally the Douglass tract became "wicked" to Increase Mather and the term must have been also applied to the author. No mention of Douglass can be found in Cotton Mather's *Diary.*

There is no evidence that the writers for the *New England Courant* constituted any Club or formal meetings. That process usually tends to kill individuality and produce an affected uniformity of style and opinion that is as hostile to wit as to literature. It so happened that certain Clubs or Societies of London had only lately come into notice and gave a handle to the real or assumed alarms of the ministers of Boston on the course of the *Courant.*[3]

[1] In his reply Douglass states that the tract contained "several more low expressions of an angry *brutal passion* in the Manuscript, which the Printer was ashamed to publish."

[2] The six, known as the "Six Inoculating Ministers," were Increase and Cotton Mather, Benjamin Colman, Thomas Prince, John Webb and William Cooper.

[3] I find that Professor Kittredge has treated of this in the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Transactions,* XIV. 283.

Early in 1721 there had been discovered in London some clubs which had taken names better fitted to advertise defects than desirable social qualities. Examples of them were the Hell Fire Club, the Sulphurous Society and the Demi-Red Dragons. Their performances could hardly equal their somewhat lurid names, but did attract the attention of the moralists who denounced them as "most abominable Assemblies," and of the authorities, who took measures to suppress them. Even the King considered in Council, April 28, 1721, the report that there were in London and Westminster "certain scandalous Clubs, or Societies, of Young Persons, who meet together, and in the most impious and blasphemous Manner, insult the most sacred Principles of our Holy Religion, affront the Almighty GOD Himself, and corrupt the Minds and Morals of one another," and fearing the vengeance of heaven on the land, directed his justices search out and punish such impieties.[1]

The older newspapers gave different greetings to the newcomer. The *Boston News Letter* after seventeen years of existence, was still advertising for aid from "such as have a mind to Promote & Encourage this Letter of Intelligence."[2] Already dividing the field with the *Boston Gazette* it could not welcome another sheet as a competitor for public favor. Taking to itself the charge of being dull, the writer for Campbell defends his conservative policy and ends with a promise on his part that as soon as the new venture "will Undertake my hitherto Task and Endeavours, giving proof that he will not be very, very Dull, I shall not only desist for his advantage, but also so far as capable Assist such a good Scribe."[3] That seemed fair enough, but the dispute on inoculation waxed too hot to allow a calm attitude. Two weeks later Campbell printed a communication from "Your Friends and Well-wishers to Our Country and all Good-men," recalled the scandalous clubs of London, described "a Notorious, Scandalous Paper, call'd the *Courant,* full freighted with Nonsence, Unmannerliness, Railery, Prophaneness, Immorality, Arrogancy, Calumnies, Lyes, Contradictions,

[1] *Boston Gazette,* July 17, 1721.
[2] *Boston News-Letter,* August 7, 1721.
[3] *Ib.,* August 14, 1721.

and what not, all tending to Quarrels and Divisions, and to Debauch and Corrupt the Minds and Manners of New-England." They likewise charged that the physicians of Boston who were opposed to inoculation were " said esteem'd and reputed to be the Authors of that Flagicious and Wicked Paper," and threatened the same measures as had been taken against the London clubs.[1]

Such an attack called out a well tempered rebuke from " W. Anti-inoculator " in the *Boston Gazette*,[2] which had to that point not noticed the birth of the *New England Courant*. The interchange of not over-nice personalities between Jack Dullman, who was James Franklin, and J. C. who was John Campbell, need not detain us. The real battle was to be on inoculation and both sides were going to extremes in their arguments. The writers in the *Courant*, notably Dr. Douglass, continued their attack and some unwarranted things were said of their opponents, while the *Boston Gazette*, October 30, admitted a defence of inoculation, and in November a hand grenade was thrown into Cotton Mather's house where Rev. Thomas Walter was undergoing inoculation, giving a splendid occasion for Mather's best attitudes.

The combination of those in favor of inoculation with those who had been outraged by Checkley's unfortunate paper in No. 3 proved too strong for James Franklin. It is evident that he had antagonized the better elements in the community and little sympathy or compassion was shown to him when he fell under the displeasure of the magistrates. It is difficult to explain how he could be laid under the ban and prohibited from publishing and yet be permitted to publish for three years over the name of a brother who had gone to Philadelphia and was not on good terms with James. It argues some special favor accorded to him or the great ignorance of the law of the very existence of Benjamin Franklin. A youth of seventeen has at least friends and probably some enemies, but no notice appears to have been taken of this manifest evasion of the prohibition.

There are ninety-four articles and communications identified by Franklin in this file, and they appear in thirty-eight

[1] *Boston News-Letter*, August 28, 1721.

[2] September 4, 1721.

issues of the sheet. There is no No. 7 and there is no indication of authorship in Nos. 9, 12, 13 and 19. The most persistent writer is the mysterious Mr. Gardner, for thirty-two communications are attributed to him — almost exactly one third of the whole. Second is James Franklin with nineteen, and then follow in order Dr. Douglass, nine, Captain Taylor, seven, Benjamin Franklin, five, Matthew Adams, John Eyre and Thomas Fleet, four each, John Checkley and Dr. George Steward, two each, and Dr. John Gibbons, Rev. Mr. Henry Harris, Madam Staples, John Williams, T. Lane and, as is supposed, Cotton Mather, one each. Sixteen contributors, of whom five were of Kings Chapel, three were printers, one a clergyman and three had the title of Doctor, here must be sought one wing of the so called wits of Boston or perhaps one side of its Grub street. Of all concerned Benjamin Franklin gave notice of only two in his writings. Of his brother James he said a few nice things but left a large balance on the other side. Years after, in 1740, five years after the death of James, the nephew James, son of Benjamin's hard taskmaster, was apprenticed as printer to his uncle Benjamin and we may be sure that his master did not repeat the mistake of being too harsh to the young man. The second person mentioned was Matthew Adams.[1] Of him Franklin speaks gently: "After some time an ingenious tradesman, Mr. Matthew Adams, who had a pretty collection of books, and who frequented our printing-house, took notice of me, invited me to his library, and very kindly lent me such books as I chose to read." The sentence shows restraint but will find an echo in every one who has been flattered by notice in early years of endeavor and aided by the quiet encouragement of an older man.

A point of bibliography is cleared by this discovery. In No. 2, August 14, 1721, is announced for publication by James Franklin, "this Forenoon," the "Little-Compton Scourge: or, The Anti-Courant." A copy of this broadside was found in the Phillips papers about two years ago and is listed in *Massachusetts Broadsides*.[2] It is now shown to have been written by Rev. Thomas Walter who had already

[1] *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, x. 89.
[2] *Collections*, LXXV. No. 469.

engaged in controversy with John Checkley. He had enjoyed the encouragement of his uncle, Cotton Mather, since 1711 when Walter was a student in Harvard College intended for the ministry. Some "entanglements" beset him, raising doubt in Mather on his worthiness, but he so far overcame them as to be considered in succession to Cotton Mather and to be ordained minister in Roxbury in 1718. When in 1721 John Checkley published his *Dialogues* Mather records in his *Diary,* March 3: "An excellent young Minister, as bright a Thing as ever this Town produced, who is particularly insulted and abused by the scurrilous and scandalous Libels, I would greatly encourage him, and endeavour that he may not be at all disheartened." [1] The result was the publication anonymously in May [2] of Walter's *Choice Dialogue between John Faustus a Conjurer, and Jack Tory his Friend,* a reply to Checkley's *Dialogues.* By August the town of Boston was as much shaken by the controversy over inoculation as it was by the smallpox itself, and on August 7 appeared the first number of the *New England Courant.* Mather proposed to prepare "some agreeable Passages, to be inserted in the *News-Letters,* which may have a Notable Tendency to correct and restrain the Epidemical Follies of the Town." That was on August 17 and one week later he writes:

> The Town is become almost an Hell upon Earth, a City full of Lies, and Murders, and Blasphemies, as far as Wishes and Speeches can render it so; Satan seems to take a strange Possession of it, in the epedemic Rage, against that notable and powerful and successful war of saving the Lives of People from the Dangers of the *Small-Pox.*[3]

In the interval the *Little Compton Scourge* appeared and Walter is believed to have been aided by the Mathers in its composition. The publication occasioned the indiscretion of Checkley and so effected its object, of discrediting the *New England Courant.*

[1] *Diary,* II. 605.
[2] It was advertised in the *Boston News-Letter* of May 16, 1721.
[3] *Diary* II. 638, 639.

The notes of authors of articles in the Franklin file of the *New England Courant* are as follows:

No. 1. August 7, 1721. The first column on page 1 was by Mr. John Checkley, the second, on the history of inoculation, by Dr. Douglass.

No. 2. August 14, 1721. Over the first column is written "Dr. Douglass" and the letter of C. A. in the second column is by Dr. Steward.

No. 3. August 21, 1721. The paper on page 1 on inoculation is by Dr. Douglass, the communication on page 2 on the Little Compton Scourge is by Dr. Gibbins and the final essay on that page by Mr. John Checkley. On page 3 over "Jack Dulman to John Campbell" a name was inserted but carefully struck out. The first letter is *J* and an *i* is near the end, which suggest Mr. J. Franklin.

No. 4. August 28, 1721. The essay on page 1 is by the Rev. Mr. Harris; the poem on the "Distress of the Town of Boston" on page 2 is by James Franklin.

No. 5. September 4, 1721. The first communication on page 1 is by Mr. Gardner, the second, "To the most generous clan of Honest Wags," by James Franklin.

No. 6. September 11, 1721. The communication on page 1, "To the Author of the New England Courant" is by Mr. Gardner.

No. 8. September 25, 1721. The first article on page 1 is by Mr. Gardner as is the "Advertisement" on the same page; the poem, "A Caution to Batchellors" is by James Franklin.

No. 10. October 9, 1721. The lines in reply to "Caution to Batchellors" on page 1 is by Madam Staples. Initials against "Lucilius to Amelia," struck out, were Mr. J. F[ranklin].

No. 11. October 16, 1721. "Lucilius to Renuncles" was by Mr. J. F[ranklin] — struck out.

No. 14. November 6, 1721. The leading article is by Mr. Gardner; the communication from Peter Hakins on page 3, by Mr. John Eyre.

No. 15. November 13, 1721. "Fidelia" on page 1 is labeled "Stolen."

No. 16. November 20, 1721. The leading article is by Mr. Gardner, and a communication "To the Author of the New England Courant" on the same page is by "Mr. Gardner in Imitation of Dr. Mather."

No. 17. November 27, 1721. Leading article on page 1 is by Mr. Matthew Adams, and "Several Arguments" on page 2, by Mr. Gardner.

No. 18. December 4, 1721. Letter signed Castalio, "Supposed to be Dr. Mather."

No. 20. December 18, 1721. Letter on Absinthium on page 1 is by Dr. Steward; Timothy Twinstone to Nicholas Clodpate on page 2 is by James Franklin; Tom Penshallow on page 3, by Mr. Gardner, and a Letter to the Readers of the Courant on the same page, by Capt. Taylor.

No. 21. December 25, 1721. The leading article is by Mr. Gardner, and a Letter to the Author, by Capt. Taylor.

No. 22. January 1, 1721–22. Letter signed S. B. is by Mr. Gardner, and the Letter to the Author, by Mr. Matthew Adams.

No. 23. January 8, 1721–2. Letter signed Lucilius on page 1 is by Mr. James Franklin, and A Dialogue on page 2, by Mr. Gardner.

No. 24. January 15, 1721–22. Letter signed Tom Tram on page 1 is by Mr. Thomas Fleet; that of Ichabod Henroost is by Mr. Franklin — that is James; and letter on page 2, dated Boston, January 11 is by Mr. Gardner.

No. 25. January 22, 1722. The leading article is by Mr. James Franklin; To the Gazetteer on page 1 is by Dr. Douglass; the letter to Mr. Turnstone on page 2 is by Mr. Gardner; that dated Ipswich, Jan. 19, on the same page, by Capt. Taylor; and two communications on page 3 are by Mr. Gardner.

No. 26. January 29, 1722. Leading article by Mr. J. Franklin; Hortensia and Corydon on page 1, by Mr. Gardner; and Ann Careful, by Mr. Thomas Fleet.

No. 27. February 5. Leading article is by Mr. J. Franklin and Zechariah Harwell on page 2, by Mr. Gardner.

No. 28. February 12, 1722. Leading article and the poem "To Jack Register" are by Mr. J. Franklin; Sidrophel, also on page 1, by Mr. T. Fleet.

No. 29. February 19, 1722. Johannes Clericus on page 1 and the Letter to the Author on page 2 are by Mr. Gardner; Letter to Mr. Turnstone on page 1, by Mr. J. Franklin.

No. 30. February 26, 1722. First letter To the Author on page 1 is by Mr. Gardner; Letter to the Author in the second column on the same page, by Mr. Matthew Adams.

No. 31. March 5, 1722. Letter of Anthony de Potsherd is by Mr. John Eyre; another dated Gutteridge's Coffee House, by Capt. Taylor; one signed Fanny Mournful, another To the Author, on page 1 and the "Advertisment" on page 2, by Mr. Gardner; and the second item on page 2, by Mr. J. F[ranklin].

No. 32. March 12, 1723. Two letters — To the Author — on page 1 are by Dr. Douglass; and letter signed J. W. on page 2, by John Williams.

No. 33. March 19, 1722. The leading article is by Mr. J. Franklin, and the second, "To the Author" on the same page, by Capt Taylor.

No. 34. March 26, 1722. Anthony Fallshort on page 1 is by Mr. James Franklin, and in second column a letter dated Hall's Coffee House, by Dr. Douglass.

No. 35. April 2, 1722. Philanthropus on page one and Sisyphus on page 2 are by Mr. Gardner; Silence Dogood on page 1, by B. Franklin — his first appearance.

No. 36. April 9, 1722. The leading article is by Mr. John Eyre; Ben Treackle on page 1, Will. Coatless and John Harmony on page 2, by Mr. Gardner; and "A sad Misfortune" on page 2, Mr. J. F[ranklin].

No. 37. April 16, 1722. Silence Dogood is by B. F[ranklin] and Letter to the Author on page 1, by Capt. Taylor.

No. 38. April 23, 1722. The leading article is by Mr. Gardner, and To the Author, Mr. T. Fleet.

No. 39. April 30, 1722. Silence Dogood is by B. F[ranklin]; Harry Meanwell, by Mr. Matthew Adams; first letter to the Author on page 2, by Dr. Douglass, and second letter, by Mr. Gardner.

No. 40. May 7, 1722. First letter to the Author is by Mr. Gardner.

No. 41. May 14, 1722. Silence Dogood is by B. F[ranklin]; Elisha Trueman on page 2, by Mr. T. Lane; first letter to Author on page 3, by Mr. John Eyre, and second letter, by Captain Taylor.

No. 42. May 21, 1722. First letter to the Author is by Dr. Douglass.

No. 43. May 28, 1723. The Leading article is by B. F[ranklin].

To the Merchants of London.[1]

[1767.]

Gentlemen, — We have reciev'd your Letter of the 28 of February and are obliged to you for your Sentiments on the present State of Affairs, and for the kind Advice you have given us for the Regulation of our Conduct on the Repeal of the Stamp Act. Now that joyfull event, thank God, hath taken place, we shall recommend and inculcate with all our Influence those Sentiments and that Behaviour in the Inhabitants of this Government which we think will have the most direct Tendency to restore that *Harmony and Affection* between both Countries, which hath been so long interrupted and on which our mutual Happiness entirely depends. Our *Loyalty* cannot be regained. It never was lost. It never was shaken. We dare appeal even to our Enemies, whether, when our Trade was embarrassed with the severest Restrictions, when we were struggling against a most oppressive Act, and Poverty and Slavery stared us in the Face, whether amidst all these Calamities America ever let fall one disloyal Expression. Did we not on the contrary in the most strong full and ample Manner express our Loyalty to our Sovereign, our Regard for the British Parliament and the English Constitution. The Principles which actuated us (and we may safely say all America) in our Opposition to the Stamp Act, were not Principles of Disloyalty, Independence, Refractoriness or Contempt of the Dignity of the British Parliament. We acted upon Principles which we thought were compatible with the English Constitution, and we have the Satisfaction to find that the Truth of our Sentiments have been confirmed by the worthiest, and wisest Men in the Kingdom. We would not say that in

[1] The original is a draft in the writing of William Ellery, without date or indication to whom the letter was sent.

every Instance we have conducted prudently. When Oppression bears hard upon free Subjects, Resentment will rise high in every liberal, generous Breast and (such is human Nature) push Men into Irregularities. The intemperate Proceedings in America have been thrown in the way of the Ministry. We are sorry for it. [They had greater Difficulties to encounter and surmount. They had a strong Party of Men entirely of different Principles from themselves to combat, Men so doatingly fond and so tenaceous of their pernicious System as to be willing even to sacrifice the British Empire to its Execution. Men of this stamp will use every Artifice, will seize ev'ry handle, which the Opposers of their Measures may chance to furnish them with, in order to support themselves and to carry their Point. To such Men it is sometimes politically necessary to make Concessions; and 'tis to their Obstinacy we attribute the Necessity of the Declaration of Right.][1] We have seen the present Ministry bravely struggling in the cause of Liberty and their Country with the utmost Concern and Anxiety; and we have with the highest Exultation seen them triumphing over their and our Enemies. If to the Pleasure which arises in their virtuous patriotick Minds on the Consciousness of having nobly and effectually exerted themselves in their Country's Cause, and to the Applause which ev'ry gratefull Briton must have already bestowed upon them; it can be any Addition to be loved, admired, hosanna'd and adored by all America, that Accession of Pleasure and Honour is freely, chearfully and sincerely given by all America to their unexampled Merit. We shall particularly show our Regard to them and our other worthy Friends by cautiously avoiding and recommending it to our Connections to avoid ev'ry thing that may cast Dishonour upon them and contradict their just Expectations. We glory in our Relation to Great Britain and shall endeavor by all reasonable Measures to conciliate and secure her Affection. America was never ungratefull, nor disobedient to any righteous Commands. We have always express'd our Obligations to the Mother Country for her Protection, and always complied as far as we were able with his Majesty's Requisitions and exerted every Nerve in the last War in the Imperial Service. Ingratitude we abhorr, Disloyalty we utterly renounce, Submission to the rightfull Authority of the British Parliament we acknowledge. The Enemies of Constitutional Liberty and the joint Interests of Great Britain and her Colonies we detest, the Friends to these we cordially esteem. Among these Justice, Gratitude and Inclination dispose us to rank the Committee of Merchants, in London, trading to

[1] Brackets in original.

North America. To you, Gentlemen, we are strongly obliged for your strenuous Efforts and unremitted Application in favor of the Liberties and Trade of America and are with the utmost Sincerity, Your most obliged humble Servants.

William Coe to David Jeffries [1]

London, July 10, 1771.

Dear and Worthy Sr., — In what language shall I express the numberless Obligations I am under to you and yours for repeated and manifold Favors I have recd. To your Liberality it is owing that I am not now rotting in a nawseous Dungeon and to your Family I owe not the Conveniences but the Blessings I enjoyed whilst at a Distance from my Country and Friends. Friends did I say? I greatly fear I mistook the Word, but of that a few Days will convince me in the Alternative *pro* and *con*. At present or rather my Relatives here in their Behavior are cold and languid. Nay to such a Degree that on my pointing out my necessitous Circumstances they appear more so. Mr. Ed'd J[effries] on my delivering yours and the Dr.'s [2] Letters to him read them, if so it may be called, and remarked, well, I find the Doctor is married since he left England. How does the Family, and does the Dr. still [live?] with his Uncle? [3] After a Conversation of indifferent Matters he asked me where I intended lodging that Night. I am not certain, Sir; I hope at Mr. Brett's. I would advise you to go there as soon as possible, for he generally goes to Lambeth in an Evening: my young Man shall shew you the Way. I went. Mr. Brett was out of Town. I returned and made Mr. J—— acquainted with my Situation and Circumstances, and requested of him the Favor of him to lodge there. I generally sleep in the Country and I have no beds made up. I would advise you to sleep at your Inn to Night and wait on Mr. Brett To-morrow morning. I imagine your Finances are low; accept this — putting [a] half Guinea into my Hand.

[1] David Jeffries (1714–1785), married (1) Sarah Jaffrey and (2) Deborah Lyde.

[2] John Jeffries (1745–1819), son of David, studied medicine at University of Aberdeen, and in 1771 was appointed surgeon to the *Captain*, a British ship of the line, by his friend Admiral Montague. He married Sarah Rhoads. He was a loyalist, went to London, where he married his second wife, Hannah Hunt, but died in Boston. Thatcher, *American Medical Biography*, I.

[3] Probably a Lyde, as David Jeffries was an only child.

This Morning I waited on Mr. Brett. How do you Billy? Indifferently, Sir. When did you arrive? Yesterday. I then made him acquainted with the Reasons of my so doing, and that it was altogether by the Approbation of my Friends on t'other side of Water. He then concluded I had acted imprudently in so doing. Where do you dine To-day? I suppose at Mr. Jeffries. Mr. Jeffries has not asked me. Will you stay and dine with me To-Day? So this you see, Sir, is the kind reception I met with after an unjust (from them) Persecution of 3 Years.

July 22d. Now I have been here almost a Fortnight and have wrote several Letters to Grandpappa and Mamma, yet have I received no Ansr. from Grandpappa, tho' I have enclosed both yours and the Drs. in the first. So strongly are my Friends prejudiced against [me] *by the Accounts from your side of the Water* that they could with the utmost Difficulty be brought to believe, nay, they seem at present to doubt my Conduct in America, tho' they have received additional Testimony from Mr. Williams to whom they have also applied for my Character; who has assured [them] was he in America To-morrow I should be the first Person he would put in Office and that my Behavior as an Officer has done Credit to the Service.[1] After such repeated Assurances what can they want more. My dear Mother, in a Letter I recd. from her since my Arrival, promises her utmost to reconcile me to my Grandfather, but they want me to go abroad again, I see that plainly, with which I do not intend to comply, unless they will provide for me in a station suitable to my Expectations, as I then think I should be wanting in Justice to myself; as without that, what Prospect can I ever have of settling in Life so as to make it comfortable and easy. But I hope that God whose overruling Providence is infinitely wise and just will order every Thing for the best and so guide and direct my Steps that wherever I am or in whatever Profession, my whole Study may be to maintain his Justice in the Dispensations of his Providence. Towards this I know that I enjoy ten thousand Blessings at his Hand which I do not merit, and that was I this Instant lifting my Eyes up from the place (?) of Torments 'tis no more than my Sins justly merit. Wherefore then should a living Man complain and what Reason have I for murmuring? None. Have I not great Reason to be thankful to that God who has preserved me from the Dangers of [the] Deep and whose paternal Tenderness has brought me in Health and Safety to my native Land? And have I not also great

[1] Coe's name is not in the *British Army List* prior to 1774.

Reason to rejoice that in a foreign Land he has raised me up sincere Friends that have provided Help in Time of Need and have been more than Father or Mother unto me, yea whose Benevolence and unbounded Generosity has been like a clear Spring in a barren Land. But what Words shall I find to paint the Concern, the friendly, the ghostly Part they have acted towards my precious and immortal Soul. To your friendly Endeavors under the Divine Assistance I have that Satisfaction, that Comfort, that Consolation, that the World can neither give nor take away amidst all the Trials, all the Persecutions. For what greater Consolation can accrew than to think that the Father of all Mercies has predestinated the Things that now happen before the World was and knew that Adversity is much better for me than a boundless Prosperity. I adore his infinite Mercy and Goodness that he has blessed me with Calamities and may God grant that they may work out for me an eternal weight of Glory. Then shall I have Reason to bless the Hand that caused my Heart to bleed, and rejoice in the Dispensations of his Providence, and in this *Particular*, that he knows what is best and that could I carve for myself I should probably not choose those Things that would be for my eternal Salvation. Then what Profit would it be to me to gain the whole World and lose my own Soul. With grateful Acknowledgements for the many Favors I have recd. from your Hands and my sincere Respects to yourself, Lady, your good Uncle and Aunt, and sincere Love to such of you younger Branches, to each of whom I shall take the Liberty of writing, I conclude myself, Dr. Sr., your obliged hl. Servant and affect. Kinsman,

W. Coe.

[Addressed] David Jeffries, Esq., Boston. favd. Capt. Symes. Recd. at post office Septem. 20, 1771. Answered, Nov. 8, 1771, per Capt. ——.

Metcalf Bowler to Thomas Cushing

Newport, Augt. the 20th, 1773.

Sir. — A printed Paper[1] published as a Letter from G. Rome to Thomas Moffat and dated Narraganset the 22d December, 1767, having been laid before the House of Deputies of this Colony they came to a Resolution that it contained the most virulent Abuse of the Colony especialy of the Courts of Justice

[1] *Collections*, xxv. No. 1423.

in it, and requested me as Speaker, in Behalf of the House to write to you and beg that you will favour me with the original Letter, which the House is informed is in your Keeping.

As this Letter is fill'd with the most unjust Representations of this Colony in Particular and of the British Colonies in America in general and was manifestly written with Design to induce the Ministry to adopt Measures totally destructive of the constitutional Rights of the Colonies and reduce them to a State of abject Slavery, I have no doubt of your ready Compliance with the Request of the House in order that they may have it in their Power to prosecute the Writer according to his Demerits.

If the Letter be not in your possession, I must intreat you to use your Interest to obtain it for the Colony. I am with great Truth and Regard, Sir, your most hble Servant.

METCALF BOWLER

THOMAS CUSHING TO METCALF BOWLER

BOSTON, Augt. 23, 1773.

SIR, — I have had the Honor of receiving your Favor of the 20th Instant desiring I would favor you with the original Letter of G. Rome [1] to Thomas Moffat, dated Narragansett, the 22d December, 1767, which your House had been Informed was in my Possession.

I am now to acquaint you that but a day or Two or before our Assembly was prorogued the Gentleman who Communicated that Letter together with others to our House, Informed them that the Gentlemen who had favoured him with the loan of those Letters had desired him to move to the House that the Letters might be returned to him. Accordingly a Vote was passed that the Letters before said should be returned, in pursuance of which Vote I returned the same, and G. Rome's Letter among the rest. And it has since been returned to London, from whence it came. You may depend upon it, Sir, that I should with the greatest Chearfulness have complied with the request of yours relative to the matter, if it had been in my power. It is unhappy this Application had not have been made sooner as in that case an authentic copy of this Letter at least might have been obtained. I shall agreeable to your desire use my Interest to obtain this Letter if possible. In the mean time I am with great Truth and Regard, Sir, your most humble Servt.

THOMAS CUSHING

[1] On Rome see *Royal Commission on Loyalists Claims*, 262.

John H. B. Latrobe to Christopher Hughes

Balto., May 15, 1848.

My dear Mr. Hughes, — I return the volume, which you were so kind as to lend me, having read its contents with very great interest. Your reply to Mr. Canning's toast certainly did not need the indulgence which you bespoke for it. It strikes me as most apt and happy. Mrs. Latrobe begs me to thank you for the gratification which the volume afforded her.

While I have my pen in hand, allow me to follow your advice about memoranda of interesting events, by putting into my note what I stated to you, verbally, in regard to the last days of Mr. Adams.

I was at the Capitol, and was entering the rotunda on the side of the House of Representatives when I observed that some boys, in front of me, were looking eagerly at something behind me. Turning round to see what it could be, I found myself almost in contact with three gentlemen, who were bearing in their arms the body of Mr. Adams, whose features I instantly recognized. Two of the gentlemen, I think, supported the body by the shoulders, the third, I think, had his arms around the legs, and in this way they bore Mr. Adams from the door of the House of Representatives into the Rotunda. When they had advanced, perhaps, ten steps from the Entrance, they stopped, and stooped down, kneeling on one knee, so that Mr. Adams' body rested on their knees in part. At this time, there were not a dozen persons in the rotunda. Seeing a chair not far from the door, I brought it to where the group was kneeling, as I have described, and asked the gentleman, who was on Mr. Adams' left side, if it could be useful, to which he replied, "No Sir, I thank you, but if a settee could be procured." Turning round to call for one, for by this time members came rushing from the House of Representatives, I saw that a settee had been procured, and in another minute Mr. Adams was laid upon it, his head towards the senate chamber. His left foot rested on the ground. Some one said "Put his foot up" — which was done. A bye stander remarked, that Mr. Adams asked to have it put up himself; but I did not hear him. His face, at this time, was very pale, but not ghastly, or unpleasant. His eyes were open, and there was intelligence in the Countenance. The corners of the mouth, it appeared to me, were drawn *back* — not *down* — which gave an expression of very strong determination to the visage which particularly struck me. The idea in my mind

was, that he was perfectly sensible, and struggling to control the expression of pain. I was very near to him, and the whole thing had come upon me so suddenly, and was passing so rapidly, that I had no time to feel agitated or impressed by the *morale* of the scene. To me, at the moment, it was a striking *picture,* and so it has dwelt on my mind ever since. Afterwards, when I left the Capitol I felt much more *impressed* than I did at the time. But to return.

When Mr. Adams was placed on the settee, it was raised, and borne a short distance towards the Eastern door, and set down. By this time, there was quite a crowd around it — and a good deal of confusion, some called out for a physician, several were exerting themselves to make people stand back, some calling "take him into the air." At this moment, I saw the speaker of the House, Mr. Winthrop, whom I knew well, who said, "Take Mr. Adams to the speaker's room gentlemen." Some one reiterated the suggestion about taking him to the air, and the settee was again raised, and I believe carried to the Eastern door, though I now lost sight of it, for the Rotunda was fast filling with a crowd. The last I saw or heard in connection with the Event was Mr. Winthrop again saying, and now in a tone, I thought, of command, "Take Mr. Adams to the speaker's room, gentlemen," to which we know that he *was* taken, and where he died. Having thus made my note fill a double purpose I am, My dear Mr. Hughes, with great resp. and Esteem,

JNO. H. B. LATROBE.

MAY MEETING.

THE stated meeting of the Society was held in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 10, at three o'clock in the afternoon, First Vice-President LORD in the chair.

The record of the Annual Meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Miss Emma L. Coleman, the original instruction by Boisberthelot, dated at Montreal, September 27, 1747, to Raimbault de Simblin to attack the English enemy. This was taken from Raimbault in the region of Northfield, Mass., by Capt. Ebenezer Alexander.[1]

From Charles P. Curtis, the Cary family letters and papers, 1769–1876.

From George P. Anderson, a photograph of a document with signatures of John Young, Moses Hammond and Ebenezer Mackintosh, of Boston.

From Miss Mary Patterson Lord, and William B. de las Casas, manuscript pieces.

By purchase, the log-book of the Bark Cambridge, 1844 to 1846, sailing between Boston and American and European ports.

From Miss Emma Rodman, ten volumes of newspaper cuttings, largely biographical.

From Miss Ellen Bullard, a Book of Common Prayer, printed about 1660.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From George Simpson Eddy, of New York, photographs of two portraits of Benjamin Franklin, one from a pastel by Greuze owned by James Lawrence, of Milton, and the other from an oil portrait, supposed to be copied from Greuze, owned by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

From Miss Gertrude F. Tabor, mourning badges, for Presidents Harrison and Taylor.

From Miss Emma Rodman, an album of photographs of American and European celebrities, and a lithograph of the Nahant House.

[1] Temple and Sheldon, *History of Northfield*, 253.

From Dr. Malcolm Storer, a Belgian medal, 1916, and from Rev. William M. Cassidy, three buttons, one bearing the letters " G W " and the words " Long Live the President."

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Philip Alexander Bruce accepting Corresponding Membership.

José Toribio Medina of Chile was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

The Chair announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

House Committee: Dr. JOHN W. FARLOW, FREDERIC WINTHROP, and WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT.

Finance Committee: FRANCIS R. HART, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and ARTHUR LORD.

Library Committee: CHARLES P. GREENOUGH, HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, and CHARLES K. BOLTON.

Committee to publish the *Proceedings:* HENRY CABOT LODGE, ARTHUR LORD, and HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM.

It was voted: that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the treasury to be expended in such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

Mr. LORD announced the death of Dr. Granville Stanley Hall of Worcester, a Resident Member, and stated that since Dr. Hall's election as a Resident Member on February 13, 1896, he was able to be present at only a few meetings, when he sometimes entered into the discussions. He made three communications: " Civilization and Savagery " in 1903, the " Recent Scientific Study of the Negro in America " in 1905, and " Nietzsche and the Doctrine of Force " in 1915. The memoir of Senator George F. Hoar, in our *Proceedings,* was prepared by Nathaniel Paine and himself in 1905.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM read the following tribute prepared by Dr. NICHOLS, who was unavoidably absent:

Granville Stanley Hall, President Emeritus of Clark University, was elected a resident member of this Society, on February 13, 1896. Born in Ashfield, Massachusetts, on February 1, 1846, he died in Worcester, April 24, 1924, at

the beginning of his seventy-ninth year. Ashfield and Worcester thus enclose the span of a long life: exceeding the threescore and ten years of the Psalmist. To the pleasant memories of his boyhood life in Ashfield was added the later recollection of his frequent visits there during the quarter century when Charles Eliot Norton gathered the intellectual élite of the land about his table in that "Massachusetts Country Town" each year for discussion and mental refreshment.

Upon his education it will be impossible, in this short tribute, to dwell, as he was a student all his life and the fifty-seven years which followed his studies at Williston Seminary and his graduation at Williams College in 1867, were as important a part of his education as his earlier years; indeed, far more so, because of his deeper insight into and larger grasp of the questions involved. Through the unsought influence of Henry Ward Beecher with Henry Sage, money was loaned to the young man with which to go abroad for three years of intensive study in 1868, there being, at that time, no opportunity for graduate work in this country, and in consequence of these years in Europe his dream of becoming a professor was realized.

Among the four hundred titles which comprise the writings of Dr. Hall, that of the first importance from the medical standpoint is the work entitled *Adolescence;* a book which treated for the first time, from a scientific point of view, the development, physical, physiological and moral, of the child during that critical period of life. In the preface of this book Dr. Hall states that this was essentially his first work, as well as the first attempt made to bring together the various aspects of this vast and complex theme so important for child study and child direction. This book stands today, as it stood twenty years ago, the standard work on this most important period of youth and it is of inestimable value to the parent and the instructor as well as to the physician.

While Johns Hopkins owes to Dr. Hall the establishment and successful operation of the first Psychological laboratory in the United States, Worcester is under a larger debt of obligation for the development of Clark University as the

first institution in this country devoted exclusively to research work. This end he accomplished, in spite of the dream of a college for poor boys of Mr. Jonas Clark the founder, through the wise and insistent intervention of Mr. Andrew H. Green of New York, a Worcester boy who always thought in large terms of progress. That this plan failed in the course of years was due to no fault of Dr. Hall, who carried in silence the opprobrium of that failure. It was in this university course that he developed his lectures on Psychology, the book on Adolescence being one section of the larger work which he planned but failed to carry to fruition in print. Here too he largely developed Child Study and that work on Pedagogy which he said, " carried Darwinism into the field of the human soul."

It was my privilege to be, for several years, a member with Dr. Hall of a small literary society in which each person was expected to express his opinion upon the subjects brought before it. At our monthly meetings we looked forward to the utterances of this unconscious master of wisdom, whose words showed that he was filled with an insatiable zeal for knowledge — not learning — along the lines of mental development and progress, always absorbing the thoughts of others and developing from them definite opinions of his own. In all these intimate talks he showed no arrogance of his own acquirements but seemed unaware of his powers and almost hesitating in the expression of his opinions and convictions. He was fair in his criticism of others, the first to acknowledge the truth of their opinions and ever ready to accept their honest criticism of his own thoughts. His remarks were always punctuated by citation of the opinions of the authors from whom he received his information and it was a matter of wonder how he could so easily marshal in strict sequence in these impromptu utterances, the wealth of knowledge which each talk showed him to possess.

The secret of his power lay in a mind, not merely well stocked but well ordered, and as he was but a medium grade student in his early years this unusual combination of the full man and the ready speaker of Bacon's classification must have resulted from an intense power of concentration developed by careful and persistent study. His Autobiography

states that from early youth it was his habit to write out careful abstracts of the books which he read, a valuable aid to a systematic memory, and he cites the aim of his second period of foreign study as an attempt to "soak in" all the knowledge of the great philosophers of his day.

These facts give us a clue to the rare ordering of his mind, an excellent illustration of which is recorded in the proceedings of the meeting of this Society in January, 1915, at which he made remarks on the paper read by Dr. DeNormandie upon Nietzsche and the Doctrine of Force.

Fortunately he was endowed with excellent physical health, the secret of his long and active life, and this he attributed in part to inheritance but largely to the life of farm and country which was his during the fifteen years of his youth. At the age of 78 he was still young; still eager to watch and direct the development of a well-rounded education for the young people of this land. The secret of his life was well expressed by Dr. Edmund C. Sanford, his pupil, his colleague and his friend, who said: "The forward look, the optimism and the belief that the best things in the world's history were yet to come, these were Dr. Hall's."

And we cannot but feel that a great mind has passed beyond our horizon.

Dr. BURRAGE then read the following paper on

WHAT LED UP TO THE CIVIL WAR AND WHAT WAS SETTLED BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN THAT WAR.

The most noteworthy of the churches of Charleston, S. C., is St. Michael's Episcopal church on the corner of Meeting and Broad streets. Its cornerstone was laid February 17, 1752, but the building was not completed until nine years later. Its well-proportioned steeple, one hundred and sixty-eight feet in height, is rightly regarded as one of the most attractive of the church steeples of that early period in this country. Historic memories are connected with it as well as with the edifice which it adorns. In the Revolutionary War, and again in the Civil War, the steeple was used as a lookout. A British cannonball, fired from James Island in

the first of these wars, striking the steeple, was deflected into the street below, and carried off the right arm on a statue of William Pitt, which the colonists erected in honor of the British statesman. When, in November, 1863, Union batteries on Morris Island beyond Fort Sumter fired shell into Charleston, one exploded within the entrance to the church, and the building was closed until the Union troops obtained possession of the city. St. Michael's church was so severely shaken by an earthquake August 31, 1886, that the tower on which the spire rests was left eight inches below the street level. By the generosity of American churchmen and other friends these injuries were repaired, and on June 19, 1887, the building was again opened for public worship.

In accordance with a custom of the colonial period a churchyard adjoins St. Michael's, and an open gate on Meeting Street, near the entrance to the church, invites the passer-by to enter. While spending the winter of 1920–1921 in Charleston I noticed this open gate one day, and leaving the busy street I found myself at once amid the silences of this old churchyard. Making my way from one memorial to another, I discovered at length that I was standing by the grave of Robert Young Hayne, Daniel Webster's opponent in the memorable debate in the Senate of the United States in January, 1830. Memories of my school-days at once were awakened, and selections from Webster's reply to Hayne in the school-readers of that period were so vividly recalled that I seemed to be listening again in the declamation hour to some youthful orator, who was making the walls of the schoolroom ring with such words as "Massachusetts . . . there she is! Behold her, and judge for yourselves!" On the large marble memorial over the grave was a lengthy inscription recording a widow's undying affection, and also the mention of Mr. Hayne's many public offices of honor and trust, and his vindication, "in the Senate of the Union," of the principles of South Carolina "in her moment of extreme peril." Such lengthy elegies in these days are rare if not unknown. This one, however, served to awaken at once my interest in Mr. Hayne. But while I was lingering there my attention was attracted to another monument not so imposing and not more than twenty or thirty feet beyond.

The name on it, James L. Petigru, meant nothing to me; but in reading the inscription I came to these significant words:

IN THE GREAT CIVIL WAR
HE WITHSTOOD HIS PEOPLE FOR HIS COUNTRY,
BUT THE PEOPLE DID HOMAGE TO THE MAN
WHO HELD HIS CONSCIENCE HIGHER THAN THEIR PRAISE,
AND HIS COUNTRY
HEAPED HER HONOR ON THE GRAVE OF THE PATRIOT
TO WHOM LIVING
HIS OWN RIGHTEOUS SELF-RESPECT SUFFICED
ALIKE FOR MOTIVE AND REWARD.

On the Hayne monument I had found what I expected; but here, on the near-by memorial of another citizen of Charleston with its record of unswerving loyalty to the Union in the Civil War, was the unexpected. As to Hayne I did not lack general biographical knowledge. Of Petigru, however, I knew only what I had read on his memorial, and I wanted to know more.

The library of the South Carolina Historical Society is located in the lower part of the building of the Public Library in Charleston, or was at the time to which I refer. It needed ampler accommodations, and I hope it has already secured them for its own sake and for the sake of its visitors, especially those who are attracted by its valuable collections, printed and in manuscript. With the assistance of the very efficient librarian, the information I sought was soon in my possession. Mr. Petigru, born in Abbeville, S. C., May 10, 1789, was a prominent lawyer in Charleston, and one of a group of strong Union men which included D. E. Huger, J. R. Poinsett, J. R. Pringle, B. F. Hunt, B. F. Dunkin, William Aiken, Hugh S. Legaré and C. C. Meminger. In fact at the time of the Hayne-Webster debate, so far as I could learn, there were only two men of prominence in Charleston, James Hamilton, Jr., and H. L. Pinckney, who approved of nullification and secession. In the state Mr. Hayne was strongly supported; yet in December, 1830, an attempt to have the legislature of South Carolina call a convention for the purpose of taking into consideration "the violation of the constitutional compact, and devise the mode and measures of redress," was defeated.

In connection with this inquiry concerning Mr. Petigru I also learned that Charleston at the period mentioned had, as it still has, a flourishing New England Society. The official date of its organization is January 6, 1819, although its beginnings were several years earlier. Its legislative act of incorporation occurred at a meeting of the General Assembly of the State, December 20, 1820. The name that heads the list of its incorporators is that of Joseph Winthrop, a native of New London, Conn., and a lineal descendant of Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts. He came to Charleston in 1783. The first president of the Society was Nathaniel Russell. His name heads a list of about forty leading merchants of Charleston in 1793, the list including only one native of South Carolina. Mr. Russell was born in Bristol, R. I., came to Charleston in 1738 when a young man, and by his rare business qualifications and sterling integrity became one of the merchant princes of Charleston. His large and attractive residence on Meeting Street, completed by him in 1811, is still one of the fine residences of the city. The date of the incorporation of the New England Society of Charleston, only two days before the bicentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, is evidence that the society was organized to honor that memorable event, as does the added fact that the date of the landing has been the date of the annual meetings of the society down to the present time. Not a single member of the society resigned in the eventful days of the Civil War. Because of the residence of so many prominent men of New England birth in Charleston one hundred years and more ago, it certainly is not difficult to account for the existence of a strong Union sentiment there in 1830.

Yet what was true of Charleston at that time was also true in no inconsiderable degree of the South generally. The Whig party in the southern states, until its collapse in the decade preceding the Civil War, owed much to the southward movement of men of northern birth, who established permanent homes for themselves south of Mason and Dixon's line. The census returns for 1850, the first to furnish us with such information, show that the proportion of persons born north of that line, and then living in the South, was not incon-

siderable in comparison with the whole population. Not only men living in the eastern part of the country sought homes in the South, but men in states north of the Ohio River, floating on flat-boats down its waters and the waters of the Mississippi for trading purposes, were attracted by favorable opportunities for investment, bought large tracts of land and became prosperous planters, or engaged in business or professional occupations in new and growing southern communities.

But while the existence of a strong Union sentiment in the South in 1830, and long after, may be accounted for in part by the presence and influence of men of northern birth, we should not overlook the fact that men of southern birth like those already mentioned, men of the Whig party or largely so, were even more numerous and influential in their opposition to the States Rights and secession views advocated by Hayne and others.

Immediately after the Hayne-Webster debate there were in Washington, in and out of Congress, those who wished to ascertain where President Jackson stood with reference to some matters discussed in that debate. Arrangements accordingly were made for a public dinner at the capital in the expectation that such an occasion would furnish the opportunity sought. The time selected for the dinner was Jefferson's birthday, April 13th. President Jackson was one of the invited guests. After the regular toasts following the dinner, the President was asked by the toastmaster for a sentiment. His response was in the historic words, " Our Federal Union; it must be preserved." Mr. Calhoun, then Vice President of the United States, received a like request, and replied in these words: " The Union, next to our liberties the most dear. May we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the States, distributing equally the benefits and the burdens of the Union." The place of the Vice President of the United States is a place of honor, but it is not a place of power, as we long ago learned. But here was an occasion which Mr. Calhoun seized and made helpful to himself and serviceable to the people of the South, who were in agreement with him politically. If he had known before the dinner what the President's

response was to be, he could not have found words with which to state more clearly the case of the South as he viewed it. Those who now listened to him were soon convinced that Mr. Calhoun's place was not in the Vice President's chair, but in the Senate of the United States, and there at length we find him in Hayne's place.[1] Whether this was by arrangement or not we do not inquire; but what occurred was this: Hayne was elected governor of South Carolina near the close of 1832, and by his acceptance of the office his membership in the Senate came to an end. Calhoun, as Vice President of the United States, resigned December 28, 1832, and on January 4, 1833, having been elected a United States senator from South Carolina, he took his seat in the Senate as Mr. Hayne's successor.

His presence there was soon greatly needed by the States Rights Party in the South. In November, 1832, Hayne being governor of South Carolina, a convention, called by the state legislature, declared the tariff of 1828 and 1832 null and void, and appointed February 1, 1833, as the day on which the nullifying act would go into effect. President Jackson at once issued a counter proclamation, and asked the Senate for authority to enable him to execute the laws of Congress in South Carolina. The Senate responded by the passage of the "Force Bill" popularly so called. Mr. Webster strongly supported it in a speech which he entitled "The Constitution not a Compact," a position maintained by him in his debate with Hayne. Calhoun and others, who unsuccessfully had opposed the bill, left the Senate chamber when the vote was taken. Nevertheless Mr. Calhoun's battle was not lost. Returning to the views he had expressed at the Jefferson dinner in Washington, that the Union can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the states by distributing equally the benefits and burdens of the Union, he insisted that if there is to be a "Force Bill" there must also be a compromise Tariff Bill; and it was so provided, Calhoun apparently succeeding by his strong intellectual and persua-

[1] The honors of the debate, not only in Washington but in the country as a whole, were with Mr. Webster unquestionably. In his *Twenty Years in Congress,* (1. 94) Mr. Blaine, referring to the effect of Mr. Webster's reply to Mr. Hayne, very aptly remarks that it "was like an amendment to the Constitution."

sive powers where Hayne would have failed. In fact from this time on Hayne was less and less prominent in public life.[1]

But Mr. Calhoun's presence in the Senate meant much more than tariff reform. In his hands largely were the slavery interests of the South, and they had his constant care. The dreams of those who had looked for the ultimate extinction of slavery he had never entertained. The need of the South as viewed by him was new slave territory, and in securing it his compromise doctrine for the preservation of the Union was successfully used. Three free states, Michigan in 1837, Iowa in 1846, and Wisconsin in 1848, were admitted to the Union, but it was not until three slave states, Arkansas in 1836, Texas in 1845, and Florida in 1845, had also been admitted. Could an endeavor to maintain any such balance of power in the interest of slavery be regarded as contributing to an enduring preservation of the Union?

About this time we get our first view of Abraham Lincoln in connection with national affairs, his election as a member of Congress from Illinois occurring in 1846. A supply bill amendment, proposed by Mr. Ashmun of Massachusetts, declaring the Mexican War " unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced," received Mr. Lincoln's vote. Later he introduced a bill relating to slavery in the District of Columbia, providing for compensated emancipation, forbidding the bringing of slaves into the District except by government officials from slave states, also the selling of slaves away from the District and arranging for the emancipation (after a period of apprenticeship) of all slave children born after January 1, 1850; these various measures illustrating the workings of his mind with reference to slavery at that time.

After the close of his term of Congressional service Mr. Lincoln, at the request of the national committee of the Whig party, made a series of political speeches in Massachusetts in connection with the presidential campaign of 1848. The state Whig Convention that year was held in Worcester on September 13, and at a large preliminary public meeting on the evening of the 12th, Mr. Lincoln spoke an hour and a half, the *Boston Advertiser* giving a very full report of the

[1] He died September 24, 1839.

speech the next morning.[1] In the next ten days he spoke at Lowell, Dedham, Roxbury, Cambridge and in Tremont Temple, Boston. At this time Mr. Lincoln had not in any way been attracted by the political principles of the new Free Soil party. In fact, with much more zeal, he entered into the Whig campaign for General Taylor as President than did Daniel Webster, who at first characterized General Taylor's nomination as one "not fit to be made," and yielded his assent to it only after considerable reflection.[2]

My earliest recollections of a presidential campaign in Massachusetts go back to that time. I was nearly twelve years old, and was visiting, in Fitchburg, my grandfather, Joseph Upton, whose farm was about a mile back of Rollstone, and who then was giving his attention largely to the political interests of the Free Soil party in the south part of the town. In accompanying him on his daily round of self-appointed duty, I received considerable first-hand information with reference to the issues involved in the campaign as my grandfather labored with his fellow-townsmen of other political faiths in ardent efforts to bring them into the ranks of his own party. It was at that time and in Fitchburg that I first saw and heard Charles Sumner, then in the beginning of his political career; and I might have seen and heard Daniel Webster, had not my grandfather in the abundance of his party zeal withheld from me any knowledge of Mr. Webster's engagement to speak in Fitchburg until he had gone — a long and sore disappointment, as no other opportunity later came to me to hear him in a political address.

Since 1843 Henry Clay had lived in retirement at his home in Lexington, Kentucky, on account of ill health. Toward the close of that decade, he became greatly depressed by the disturbed political situation of the country, North and South. Accordingly he sought re-election to the Senate of the United States, and in December, 1849, he returned to Washington for added active personal efforts in the interest of national peace. He brought with him some resolutions.

[1] *Proceedings*, XLII. 71, 72, 86.

[2] See his speech at Marshfield, September 1848, in *Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*, IV. 119.

Compromise measures he called them. One had reference to the admission of California as a free state. Slavery restrictions in the rest of the territory secured by the Mexican War, he said, would not be needed as slave labor would not be employed there. Another resolution called for a more stringent fugitive slave law. In behalf of his compromise measures Mr. Clay made an earnest and eloquent plea. He could see, he said, no other way in which the country would be able to escape a bitter sectional war. He was followed by Mr. Calhoun, who supported the resolutions, but was so ill that his speech was read by another senator. Mr. Webster, also, supported Mr. Clay's resolutions. Anti-slavery agitation, he said, was a fruitful source of our disturbed relations. The failure of the people of the free states to observe their legal obligations with reference to fugitive slaves was an affront to the South that could not be defended. That the action of all three, Clay, Calhoun and Webster, proceeded from patriotic motives, prompted by a sincere desire to rescue the country from civil war otherwise deemed by them unavoidable, is now generally recognized. War certainly was not prevented by their efforts, but it was postponed; and the postponement seems to have been necessary in order to secure the remarkable results later obtained.

In New England, especially, Mr. Webster was bitterly assailed for supporting the new fugitive slave law. Yet who, then living in Boston or vicinity and now living, does not also remember how soon much of the severity of this criticism was quieted in the summer and autumn of 1852? Mr. Webster left Washington for the last time in July of that year. His friends in Boston regarded his return as a fitting opportunity for a public reception in his honor. His arrival was in the morning of July 9, and the New York train on the Old Colony railroad bringing him was halted not far from the residence of a member of Congress from Massachusetts, Hon. Samuel H. Walley, whose guest Mr. Webster was to be until the public reception in the afternoon. I was nearly sixteen years old, and, living in Roxbury, I was early at the temporary platform by the side of the railroad and adjoining the fine lawn from Mr. Walley's house to the landing place. Of course I had only a glimpse of Mr. Web-

ster as, with his son, he left the train and was received by his host; but it satisfied the longings of a boy to whom Daniel Webster held a place among our countrymen second only to Washington; yet even the glimpse left with me the great memory of a majestic personality, singularly impressive because so rare. Only Dr. Francis Wayland, the venerable ex-president of Brown University, who was still living in my college days and whom I often saw, has since made a like impression upon me.

A few months later Mr. Webster was dying at his home in Marshfield, and information was given in the newspapers that when death occurred it would be announced by the tolling of church bells. About nine o'clock on Sunday morning, October 24, 1852, the bells in Boston and the surrounding towns began to toll, and in the tolling political differences were hushed. The churches were crowded, Mr. Webster's valuable services to the country were recalled, and that Sunday was made memorable as a day of public mourning.

For awhile, following the passage of the compromise measures of 1850, the country had a period of comparative political quietude. The old party leaders had died, Webster as just mentioned, Calhoun, March 31, 1850, and Clay, June 9, 1850. No new party leader of any prominence was in sight. From Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* however, the moral forces of the North received a remarkable quickening. More than at any earlier time the people were considering the question, " Is slavery right or wrong? " But this period of comparative quiet soon ended, the disturbance proceeding from an unexpected quarter when, in 1854, Senator Douglas of Illinois introduced a bill in Congress for the territorial organization of a part of what was known as the Louisiana Purchase, the bill including a provision that when this territory, or any part of it, should apply for admission as a state, it should be received with or without slavery as the people in their prescribed constitution should decide. This territory was that part of the national domain from which, by the Missouri compromise of 1820, slavery had been forever excluded; and such a proposed violation of a solemn pledge long regarded aroused the opponents of slavery in the country as never before. However, the bill, known as the

Kansas-Nebraska bill, passed in both houses of Congress, and was signed by President Pierce.

Since his political visit to Massachusetts in 1848, Mr. Lincoln had devoted himself largely to the increasing demands of his law practice. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, however, was to him an urgent call to new political activities, and we find him early among those who were prominent in the organization of the Republican Party in Illinois in 1856. There is evidence, also, that the problem of slavery was now occupying Mr. Lincoln's serious thoughts. Compromises and treaties had increased the domain of slavery, and the advocates of States Rights in the South already had made provision for its added expansion. Was there no one in any of our free states with vision sufficiently clear who could discover a way out of a political situation fast becoming intolerable?

June 16, 1858, in an address at Springfield, Ill., before the Republican Convention of that state, Abraham Lincoln broke the silence with these words:

> We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation not only has not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South.[1]

Mr. Lincoln had prepared this address with the most thoughtful attention, and without consultation with any one, not even with Herndon, his law partner. It was written,

[1] This was four months before Mr. Seward delivered his "Irrepressible Conflict" speech in Rochester, N. Y.

the latter says, first on scraps of paper, then on sheets of paper, with the careful revision of every line and sentence. Before he delivered it he read it to Herndon, also to a few other friends. They all saw that it had in view nothing less than a new and advanced position with reference to slavery, namely that slavery must go. Herndon, referring to the paragraph cited above, said to Lincoln, "It is true, but is it wise or politic to say so?" Lincoln replied, "That expression is a truth of all human experience, 'a house divided against itself cannot stand.' . . . I want to use some universally known figure expressed in simple language as universally well-known that may strike home to the minds of men in order to raise them up to the peril of the times. I do not believe I would be right in changing or omitting it. I would rather be defeated with this expression in the speech, and uphold and discuss it before the people, than be victorious without it."[1] The others to whom the address was read withheld approval. It was as far beyond their vision with reference to slavery as it had been beyond the vision of any of our statesmen. Herndon, however, at length said, "Lincoln, deliver that speech as read, and it will make you President." The speech when delivered received enthusiastic approval, and it led to Mr. Lincoln's seven memorable public debates with Senator Douglas in the political campaign that followed. The whole of the North was attentive while these debates were in progress. I was in college at the time and remember the intense interest with which the newspaper reports of the debate were received by the students. The issues of the campaign were lifted by Mr. Lincoln into the higher levels of political discussion. "Is slavery right or is it wrong," he asked. "This is the issue. . . . It is the eternal struggle between these two principles — right and wrong — throughout the world. They are the two principles which have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings."

As the National Republican Convention of 1860 was approaching, the Illinois friends of Mr. Lincoln desired that he should become known personally in the East, and through

[1] Herndon and Weik, *Abraham Lincoln*, II. 67–69.

members of the Republican party in New York arrangements were made in accordance with which Mr. Lincoln came to that city; and on the evening of February 27 he delivered in Cooper Institute an address in which he recalled the principles of Washington and the founders of the Republic, showing that they regarded slavery "as an evil not to be extended, and to be tolerated and protected only, because of, and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection a necessity." His closing words were these: "Let us have faith that Right makes Might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it." [1] Coming at the conclusion of an address characterized by clear, straight, convincing thought, these words were like a trumpet call, summoning his hearers to courageous political action in the approaching presidential campaign.

The address was published in full in New York papers on the morning of the following day. So strong was the impression made by the address upon those who heard, or read it, that at once it was deemed important for Mr. Lincoln to extend this visit into New England, and deliver there a series of political addresses.

The first of these addresses was delivered in Providence, Rhode Island, on the following evening, February 28. The Providence newspapers of the morning of that day announced Mr. Lincoln's coming. Memories of the Rail-splitter's debates with Douglas would alone have brought together a full house; but undoubtedly the enthusiastic reports in New York newspapers concerning the Cooper Institute address added to the welcome that awaited the visitor. The address was delivered in Railroad Hall, the largest hall in Providence at that time. There were no study hours in the college that evening. Professors and students were in the throng that assembled to hear Mr. Lincoln. Hon. Thomas A. Jenckes, a prominent member of Congress from Rhode Island at that time, presided and introduced the speaker.

[1] "Mr. Lincoln obtained most of the facts of his Cooper Institute speech from Elliot's 'Debates on the Federal Constitution.' There were six volumes, which he gave to me when he went to Washington." Herndon in his *Life of Lincoln*, II. 165, note.

Providence then was in the throes of a gubernatorial campaign. No audience in Illinois, greeting Lincoln in a political assembly on its prairies, could have given to the speaker a more enthusiastic welcome. As he stood before us tall, thin, his kindly eyes looking out upon his audience, he was much more attractive in his personal appearance than the Lincoln with the beard as he appears in the photographs and portraits of Lincoln made after he came to Washington a year later. Drawing from his pocket a copy of a Democratic Providence paper of that date, Mr. Lincoln opened his address by reading from its editorial a few sentences rebuking him for coming into Rhode Island, when its people were engaged in what was simply a state and not a national political affair. Welcome B. Sayles, editor of the paper, was on the platform sitting by the side of Professor James B. Angell, the father of the present President of Yale. The genial humor of Mr. Lincoln in his comments on the editorial captured his audience at once, and for a minute or two the hall was ringing with the laughter and shouts that the speaker evoked. From that time on Mr. Lincoln followed largely the line of thought in the Cooper Institute address. The impression made by it upon the entire assembly apparently was no less forceful than upon Mr. Lincoln's audience in New York the night before. Dr. Angell, late in life, referring to Mr. Lincoln's address, remarked that the Democratic editor, at the close of the evening, said to him, "That is the finest constitutional argument for a popular audience that I ever heard."[1]

From Providence Mr. Lincoln went to Exeter, N. H., to see his son Robert. There he made an address on February 29, also in Concord on the afternoon of March 1; at Manchester on the evening of the same day; and at Dover on March 2. Returning to Exeter he spent Sunday, March 4, with his son, who had accompanied him on the speaking tour in New Hampshire.[2] Then, turning homeward, he spoke in Hartford, Conn., March 5, Meriden, March 6, New Haven, March 7, Woonsocket, R. I., March 8, Norwalk, Conn., March 9 and Bridgeport, March 10. The address at Woon-

[1] *Reminiscences of James B. Angell*, 117.
[2] *Proceedings*, XLII. 81*n*.

socket I heard, as also did my fellow students at Brown, the Rhode Island Republican campaign-workers furnishing a special train for the occasion, the students contributing at the rally printed campaign lyrics adapted to well-known college songs. That Mr. Lincoln did not extend his journey into Maine and Vermont was probably due to fatigue, mention of which he made in a letter to Mrs. Lincoln written on the Sunday he spent at Exeter. As to Massachusetts, however, it was a " sense of delicacy " evidently that determined Mr. Lincoln's action in passing through the state without stopping. Mr. Seward was the favorite presidential candidate of the Massachusetts Republicans that year, and as Mr. Lincoln also expected to be a candidate he deemed it best to decline the Massachusetts invitation.[1]

Mr. Lincoln's nomination as President followed in May, 1860, and his election in November. At once, as if this was a challenge to the South, the States-Rights advocates in South Carolina asked their legislature to call a convention to consider the relation of the state to the Federal Union. At a meeting in Charleston, December 20, 1860, the convention met and unanimously adopted an ordinance repealing the ordinance of 1788, and dissolving the Union. It also authorized the governor of the state to appoint customs officers and postmasters. In South Carolina an enthusiastic popular uprising followed, and measures were adopted for extending the secession movement. Six other slave states soon strengthened this action; and on February 4, 1861, delegates from all of these states except Texas adopted a provisional government, with Jefferson Davis as President. The house had not fallen, but its fall was threatened; and Mr. Lincoln now had before him in clearer light the very serious situation with which he would be confronted in entering upon the duties of his presidential office.

But Abraham Lincoln had not been overtaken by surprise. When he left his home in Springfield, Ill., February 14, 1861, for Washington, he said to the people among whom he had lived and labored, " I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon Washington. Unless the great God who assisted him shall be with and aid me, I must fail;

[1] *Proceedings*, XLII. 82, 83.

but if the same mighty arm that directed and protected him shall guide and support me, I shall not fail — I shall succeed. Let us all pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us now." What was Washington's task? It certainly was not his task as President of the United States. Rather was Mr. Lincoln thinking of Washington's experiences in the long, wearisome, burdensome years he spent in winning the war for American independence. In the withdrawal of the seceding states the President elect saw another war already imminent, and threatening the supremacy of the Union. Important duties would devolve upon him in such a war. By a provision of the Constitution of the United States the President is made the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy. As Washington would have failed in his task without divine assistance so now the President elect with his task before him felt that he must have the help of Washington's God; and he invoked the prayers of the people in his behalf. Note the personality of the task as, relying on these prayers, and with strong faith in God he adds, *I* shall not fail, *I* shall succeed."

Mr. Lincoln reached Washington on February 23, and the inauguration followed on March 4. In the inaugural address the President in forceful words indicated his policy with reference to the seceding states. His statements as to what he would do, and what he would not do, were clearly presented; while, in closing the address, using language of great tenderness, he placed in the hands of his " dissatisfied countrymen " what he called " the momentous issues of civil war," now apparently rapidly approaching, adding: " You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to ' preserve, protect and defend ' it."

At the beginning of the Lincoln administration Mr. Seward, as Secretary of State, seemed to have an impression that the most important matters of the government would receive attention through his office. As this, however, was not the course of procedure, he soon addressed a note to the President in which he informed his chief that the government had no policy, and suggested that there should be

some one to attend to important administration matters. Mr. Seward was not the only one, who as yet had failed to take the full measure of Mr. Lincoln. The President's reply was a helpful one. As to the policy of the administration, Mr. Lincoln referred the Secretary to the inaugural address, while as to the person on whom important governmental matters should be devolved the President remarked, "I will do it." More and longer words were not needed, for those used were sufficient to bring the incident to an end. Throughout the administration each recognized the valuable services of the other, and each increasingly, in his own place, held the other in deserved respect and honor.

Two forts on our southern coast, Fort Pickens at the entrance of Pensacola harbor, and Fort Sumter at the entrance of Charleston harbor, Confederate forces early desired to have in their possession. They were held by small Union garrisons under competent officers, but were in great need of supplies and reinforcements. To these needs the President, very early after his inauguration, gave his personal attention. His first orders as Commander-in-Chief had reference to these forts. Already there were in Washington three Confederate commissioners, who desired an interview with the President for the purpose of securing a "speedy adjustment of all questions in dispute on terms of amity, good-will and mutual interest." By the direction of the President the commissioners were referred to his inaugural address as containing all he had to say with reference to the questions submitted; and their mission, so far as the President was concerned, came to an end, and they returned to Richmond.

On April 13, as a Union fleet was approaching Charleston harbor bringing reinforcements and supplies to beleaguered Fort Sumter, Confederate guns opened a bombardment of the fort with such destructive effect as to compel its surrender on the 14th. The "great uprising" followed as the tidings were hurried to every part of the North, bringing "all the Free States to their feet as one man."[1] There were flag-raisings and patriotic speeches everywhere, and the following day President Lincoln called for 75,000 militia for

[1] James Russell Lowell.

three months service. The uprising at Brown was not unlike that in all of our colleges. Students and professors were equally in evidence. "Our flag has gone down, but it must go up again," said Professor Gammell to the senior class in history that morning; and instead of a recitation from Hallam's *Constitutional History of England,* we had from the professor an illuminating presentation of the national situation. Some of the members of the class were soon on their way to Washington with the First Rhode Island Infantry commanded by Colonel, afterward General Burnside; while others were anxiously awaiting letters from home as to approval or disapproval in the matter of immediate enlistment. "The mighty winds blew from every quarter to fan the flame of the sacred and unquenchable fire." [1]

On the part of the government, the first year of the war was largely a year of preparation with which to meet the better preparation of the South. The question of slavery at first occupied the President's attention only with reference to the use of slaves coming into our lines seeking their freedom and were known as "contrabands." An act of Congress, emancipating all slaves within the lines of the Union armies whose owners were in arms against the United States, was approved. Then the President suggested to Congress an act for the gradual emancipation of all slaves in the border states, the government to cooperate with these states by providing necessary compensation. Opposition on the part of senators and representatives from these states was manifested, however, and further action on this suggestion was abandoned.

But the slavery problem with reference to the war was not abandoned by the President. If the "house divided against itself" was to stand, slavery certainly, as he saw it, could not remain; and the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States soon found an opportunity to settle the problem of slavery in the states then in rebellion, by an act of emancipation as his own personal act. July 22, 1862, calling the attention of his cabinet to a proclamation which he had prepared to take effect January

[1] George Bancroft in his address on Abraham Lincoln before the two Houses of Congress, February 12, 1866.

1, 1863, President Lincoln sought their advice not as to the propriety of such action, but as to the time when the proclamation should be issued. A suggestion that some Union victory would be a favorable opportunity, the President accepted. The battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862, offered the desired opportunity, the President mentioning to his cabinet a promise he had made to his Maker that if the enemy should be driven out of Maryland and Pennsylvania, he would issue the proclamation. It was accordingly issued on September 22, the President invoking the favor of God upon an act which he believed to be "an act of justice warranted by the constitution upon military necessity";[1] and the emancipation act went into effect on January 1, 1863.

The *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* show that in military matters the President held very early, clearly and tenaciously, two principles of war; first, that the true objective is the enemy and not a place; and, second, that when the enemy is found, resolute and determined attack follows. If he retreats, he is to be pursued promptly, energetically, with the purpose of destroying or scattering his forces. Probably these principles were obtained from books relating to war, as it is well known that books of this character received his attention in the early part of the war. His objection to McClellan's peninsula campaign is largely found in words he later addressed to Hooker: "I think Lee's army, and not Richmond, is your sure objective point."[2] The second principle is illustrated in such words as these: "Everything now depends upon the celerity and vigor of your movement."[3] "Please watch the enemy closely, and follow and harass him if he attempts to retreat."[4]

[1] "I think the Constitution invests its commander-in-chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said — if so much — is that slaves are property. Is there — has there ever been — any question that by the law of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever taking it helps us, or hurts the enemy." Lincoln in a letter dated August 26, 1863, *Complete Works*, II. 397.

[2] Lincoln to Hooker, June 10, 1863.

[3] Lincoln to McDowell, May 14, 1862.

[4] Lincoln to Banks, May 29, 1862.

In testing his generals the President was not satisfied until he found in Grant one who held and acted upon principles of war as his own.[1] The President's task was to bring the war to an end with the enemy armies defeated, captured or scattered. Anything less, to him would mean failure. There were times when he was greatly disappointed, as when McClellan allowed Lee to escape after the battle of Antietam, and when Meade failed to follow up his victory at Gettysburg. Tidings of Grant's victory at Vicksburg, however, brought to the President great encouragement; and the General's added victories in Tennessee in the autumn of that year were followed by Grant's promotion and his advancement to the command of all the Union armies. In this way the President's burden was largely removed, especially as the realization of his hopes as to the issue of the war seemed now to him to be assured.

I saw President Lincoln last on one fine day in April, 1864. On our return from Tennessee we had spent a few weeks at Annapolis, Maryland, where the corps was recruited. Then we marched across the country on our way to rejoin the Army of the Potomac. The night before we passed through Washington, we spent about eight miles from the capital. In the morning, we learned that when we marched down 14th Street President Lincoln would review the corps from the balcony of Willard's Hotel. How the men brushed up for such a review! We had not seen the President since he reviewed the Army of the Potomac in Pleasant Valley, following the battle of Antietam. It seemed to me, as we passed, that the President in his task was showing weariness; but it was Abraham Lincoln, and our hopes were with him as we knew that his hopes were with his soldiers. The Wilderness, Spottsylvania and Cold Harbor followed.

[1] These two principles of war are those which Chief Marshal Foch taught in his instruction of the young officers of the French army for many years before the World War, and are found in his *Principles of War*. They are the principles on which he acted in the World War as the head of the allied forces in France. Foch wrote to Pershing, October 12, 1918: "In our present military situation we may hope for great things, if only the allied armies will all strike at once, and with ever increasing vigor." On November 2, he telegraphed to the same, "that it was absolutely necessary to enlarge upon these successes without a moment's loss, and to keep harassing the enemy unmercifully." The result was what Foch anticipated.

Our losses were heavy, but there was no return of the army after battle. "I mean to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," Grant reported to the President. I was wounded at Cold Harbor, and did not see my regiment again until September. While I was at home, I was surprised to find, in not a few of the people I saw, evidences of war-weariness. I had noticed nothing of the kind in the army, and the army had now moved on to Petersburg, where it was threatening the right of Lee's army, ready for added activities awaiting the movements of other armies under Grant's command in different parts of the South.

Having been unanimously renominated in June by the National Republican Convention for re-election as his own successor, the President had reason to expect that his plans in connection with the war would still proceed under his direction on to the end. About the middle of August, however, he received a letter from Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times,* and then chairman of the National Committee of the Republican party. Apparently Mr. Raymond had called the members of the Committee together for consultation with reference to reports that had reached him of the unfavorable outlook for the President's re-election; and, as the result of the conference, Mr. Raymond had been instructed to inform Mr. Lincoln concerning these reports. The letter certainly is an amazing one as it comes before us after the lapse of sixty years; but it could hardly have been any less amazing to the President. "I am in active correspondence with your staunchest friends in every state," wrote Mr. Raymond, "and, from them all, I hear but one report. The tide is setting strongly against us. Hon. E. B. Washburne writes that were an election to be held now in Illinois we should be beaten. Mr. Cameron writes that Pennsylvania is against us. Gov. Morton writes that nothing but the most strenuous efforts can carry Indiana. This state [New York] according to the best information I can get, would go 50,000 against us tomorrow." Surely this was a gloomy outlook! What suggestion had the committee to make to the President? This: "Why would it not be wise to appoint a commission in due form to make distinct proffers of peace to Davis as the head

of the rebel armies on the sole condition of acknowledging the supremacy of the Constitution, all other questions to be settled in a convention of the people of all the states." [1] Was not this a time when the country especially had reason to thank God that Abraham Lincoln was President of the United States? I have not found the President's reply to Mr. Raymond's letter. It is doubtful whether he made any other reply than to ask Mr. Raymond and his associates to come to Washington for consultation. However this may be, three days later the members of the National Committee appeared at the White House, where Mr. Lincoln was ready to receive them, having prepared meanwhile a letter of instructions, which was to govern Mr. Raymond on the proposed mission. The President earlier had found this method a successful one in dealing with peace advocates. The Committee did not find President Lincoln panic-stricken like themselves. At his suggestion they talked also with Seward, Stanton and Fessenden, and soon came to the conclusion that the plan they had formulated was an unwise one; and it was not heard from again.[2]

At the same time there were members of the Republican party, some of them in Boston, men of prominence and influence, who were active in a movement no less amazing than that suggested by the National Republican Committee. As already a convention of Republicans, held in Cleveland, Ohio, and opposed to the re-election of President Lincoln, had nominated General John C. Frémont as their presidential candidate, the dissatisfied gentlemen mentioned entered into correspondence with General Frémont, suggesting that both Frémont and Lincoln should withdraw, and that the party should unite on a candidate that "would place the administration on a basis as broad as the patriotism of the country." [3] Charles Sumner thought a change of candidates desirable, but he would not ask the President to withdraw. The act, he said, must be a free and voluntary one.[4] Of course this movement also failed.

[1] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln,* IX. 218, 219.
[2] *Ib.,* IX. 220, 221.
[3] *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia,* 1864, 791, 792.
[4] Pierce, *Charles Sumner,* IV. 197.

For what happened? On September 1, General Sherman took Atlanta, while tidings were received soon after of Farragut's brilliant victories in the destruction of the Confederate fleet in Mobile Bay, and of his capture of the enemy's forts. In September and October General Sheridan had his remarkable series of victories over Early in the Shenandoah Valley, arousing the whole loyal North to a great height of enthusiasm, thrilling every patriotic heart. When the election day came early in November, President Lincoln, receiving 492 of the 514 votes cast, carried all the states not in rebellion except three, New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky.

What followed? New helpers aided the President in bringing the war to a close. In a paper which I had the honor to read before the Massachusetts Military Historical Society in 1915,[1] I showed from the Official Union and Confederate Records that following the re-election of President Lincoln desertions from the Confederate army on Grant's front at Petersburg and Richmond increased to such an extent that General Lee asked his corps commanders for an explanation. In their reply for the month of November, they attributed the increase to dissatisfaction on account of insufficient food and clothing. But desertions continued to multiply notwithstanding increased supplies of food and clothing. In December, General Lee made added inquiries. This time the corps commanders stated that the soldiers were discouraged, believing that further Confederate efforts were useless.

Not a few of these desertions were to our own lines at Petersburg; and because of their significance as to conditions in Lee's army, the President had reason to expect that the peacemakers, both North and South, would be likely before long to renew their activities. In his annual message to Congress even a year earlier, he let it be known that slavery matters were solely in his own hands, the emancipation proclamation having been issued by him as a war measure. Since that time, his term of office had been extended by his re-election, and accordingly he now deemed it important to reaffirm, in his message of 1864, his earlier

[1] *Papers of the Military Hist. Society of Mass.*, XIV. 207–232.

announcement in order that there might be no misunderstanding whatever with reference to his position as to slavery. "I repeat," he said, "the declaration made a year ago, that while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any acts of Congress. If the people should by whatever mode or means make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it." [1]

As 1864 drew to a close, President Lincoln received added encouragement from General Sherman, who having brought his army unhindered across the state of Georgia from Atlanta, announced the capture of Savannah, while a few days later General Thomas reported his capture of Nashville, and the destruction of Hood's army, the survivors scattering in hopeless flight. Evidently the house of the Confederacy was falling, and the peacemakers already were astir. Mr. Francis P. Blair, Sr., of Washington approached the President late in December desiring permission to go "South" on a personal errand of peace and good-will. Mr. Lincoln yielded to his request, but with the distinct understanding that Mr. Blair was not to speak or act in any way as representing the government. Proceeding to Richmond, Mr. Blair found the President of the Confederacy ready to enter into negotiations for the purpose of securing peace to "the two countries"; and Mr. Davis gave him a letter expressing this willingness.[2] On his return to Washington, Mr. Blair showed the letter to Mr. Lincoln, who then addressed a letter to Mr. Blair stating his willingness to receive any person coming to him having in view peace to "the people of our common country." [3] Again Mr. Blair made his way to Richmond, placed the President's letter in the hands of Mr. Davis, who read it twice thoughtfully without speaking. When Mr. Blair broke the silence with the remark that the part about "our common country" had reference to the "two countries" in the letter written by Mr. Davis, the

[1] *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* VI. 255.
[2] January 12, 1865.
[3] January 18, 1865.

latter replied that he so understood it; and with these words Mr. Blair's peace efforts came to an end.

The year 1865 opened with Congressional action that gave to the President added encouragement in connection with the approaching end of the war as viewed by him. An amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery in the United States was passed by the Senate early in 1864, but failed to receive the requisite two-thirds vote in the House of Representives. In his annual message, December 6, 1864, President Lincoln called attention to this failure, and urged the reconsideration and adoption of the amendment on the ground that in the presidential election of November, 1864, "the voice of the people" had been heard for the first time on this matter. The amendment, known as the thirteenth amendment, received favorable action in both houses of Congress, and was signed by the President February 1, 1865. When it is remembered that in March, 1861, Congress passed an amendment to the Constitution denying to that body any power to abolish or interfere with slavery, it is not difficult to understand the President's joy at the progress that had been made with reference to the extinction of slavery in this country during his administration.

Near the close of January, 1865, three commissioners, Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederate States, R. M. T. Hunter, a former United States Senator from Virginia, and J. A. Campbell, formerly a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, approached our lines at Petersburg, desiring to proceed to Washington for a conference with President Lincoln.[1] After some preliminaries had been arranged, and General Grant had informed the President that the interview was in pursuance of the course he had indicated in his letter to Mr. Blair, Mr. Lincoln directed General Grant to send the commissioners to Fortress Monroe, adding that this arrangement was to have no effect upon any of General Grant's movements or plans. At the same time he gave Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, directions to proceed to Fortress Monroe and meet the commissioners for an informal conference "on the basis of his letter to

[1] For the correspondence with reference to these commissioners see *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI. 260–269.

F. P. Blair of January 18, 1865." "You will make known to them," he said, "that three things are indispensable, to wit: first, the restoration of the national authority throughout all the states; second, no receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position in the late annual message to Congress and in the preceding documents; third, no cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all the forces hostile to the government. . . . You will inform them that all propositions of theirs not inconsistent with the above will be considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. You will hear all they may choose to say and report it to me. You will not assume to definitely consummate anything."

Hitherto the President had carefully guarded his war policy as peculiarly his own, not intrusting to another a matter of so much importance. Apparently, after Mr. Seward's departure, his thoughts with reference to this action troubled him. However this may be, during the day the President decided to join the Secretary of State, and he left Washington for Fortress Monroe that evening. In the morning the two received the commissioners on the steamer that had brought Mr. Lincoln thither. In a report to Congress concerning the conference (which included all the correspondence relating to it), the President stated that no other persons were present except Mr. Seward and the three commissioners, that no papers were produced or exchanged, and that the conversation was informal and verbal throughout. He repeated to the commissioners the instructions he had given to Mr. Seward, and added nothing inconsistent with them. "By the other party," he stated, "it was not said that in any event, or on any condition, they ever would consent to reunion, and yet they equally omitted to declare they would never so consent. They seemed to desire a postponement of that question, and the adoption of some other course first, which, as some of them seemed to argue, might or might not lead to reunion, but which course we thought would amount to an indefinite postponement." The conference ended without result, as doubtless the President expected it would.

President Lincoln did not give much space to his second inaugural. General Grant was soon to strike the Confederacy a blow which in all probability would be a final one, and few words were needed. But the occasion afforded the President an opportunity for expressing some thoughts in reference to slavery as the cause of the war, which evidently he desired to have remembered. The inaugural address has become one of the world's classics, and, like the Gettysburg address, it has been given a place on one of the walls of the National Lincoln Memorial near the banks of the Potomac at Washington. No words at such a time could have been more appropriate than those that closed the address: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

Near the close of March, General Lee made an attack in front of Petersburg on the Union line that included Fort Sedgwick, the whole force being under the command of General Gordon. General James A. Walker, whose division in a short onrush captured the fort in this assault, referring to the capture many years later, stated in a published account of the battle, that he followed his division closely on foot, and seeing his men lying down as he entered the fort he shouted to them, "Forward, men!" and found himself at once confronted by a captain, who replied, "These are my men and they are not going to be slaughtered here!" General Walker said to the captain, "I'll have you courtmartialed for this later!" In the darkness of the early morning and the confusion that followed, the general lost sight of the captain, and never saw him again. "But I know what he was thinking about," he added in telling the story. "He saw, as nearly all the men in the ranks saw, that the Confederate cause was hopeless, and that they were shedding their blood in vain." General Walker made his way back to his own line safely in the retreat, but among the prisoners, captured by our men in re-taking the fort, were many doubt-

less who made no attempt to return. In their view the war was over.[1]

About a week later, when General Grant attacked along the whole Confederate front at Petersburg and Richmond, the resistance was comparatively feeble; and, though there had been some hard fighting on the left at Five Forks, what remained of Lee's army was soon in full retreat. Appomattox followed. The interview between Grant and Lee with reference to the surrender was in the interest of peace and unity. General Grant returned to General Lee his sword, and when the Confederates, with General Gordon at their head, reached our lines to lay down their arms, Gen. J. L. Chamberlain, who commanded the Union troops designated to receive them, rightly recognizing the "momentous meaning" of the occasion, made the act of surrender a "marching salute," giving the order "Carry arms!" Its significance General Gordon caught on approaching, and turning to his own men he gave to them the same order, "honor answering honor," while an "awed stillness" rested upon all.[2]

President Lincoln received tidings of the surrender at General Grant's former headquarters at City Point. Following the capture of Richmond on April 2, and the removal of obstructions in the river, the way was now open to the late Confederate capital, where General Weitzel was in command. Thither on the day after the surrender at Appomattox, the President made his way unannounced, but accompanied by Admiral Porter and a few friends. Doubtless the President thought he might have an opportunity while in Richmond to see one or more of the commissioners whom he met at Fortress Monroe, and he did see and talk with Judge Campbell. But who was the one he especially desired to see? When he was a member of Congress in 1847–48, a Virginian, one of his associates in the House of Representatives, wished to nominate a candidate for entrance to the Military Academy at West Point; but he had made use of his own right already, and he asked Mr. Lincoln if he could help the applicant. Happily he could, and the appointment was made.

[1] *Papers of the Military Hist. Society of Mass.*, XIV. 229, where the citation is from the *Southern Hist. Society Papers*, XXXI. 26, 27.

[2] Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies*, 260.

It was in this way that the Confederate Major General George E. Pickett, who was in command of the memorable charge at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863, known as "Pickett's Charge," received his military training. As the President now came up into the city one of his inquiries was for the residence of General Pickett. On reaching the house he asked if General Pickett was at home. All the servants had left, but Mrs. Pickett was not far away, and she answered the President's rap at the door. "Is this George Pickett's place," he asked? "Yes, Sir," she replied, "but he is not here." "I know that, ma'am," he added, "but I just wanted to see the place. I am Abraham Lincoln." "The President?" she gasped. The stranger shook his head and said, "No, ma'am, no, ma'am, just Abraham Lincoln; George's old friend." These are Mrs. Pickett's own words, and, in their narration, she states that all she could say at the moment was, "I am George Pickett's wife and this is his baby." Continuing her narration she adds: "My baby pushed away from me and reached his hands to Mr. Lincoln, who took him in his arms. As he did so an expression of rapt, almost divine, tenderness and love lighted up the sad face. It was a look that I have never seen on any other face. My baby opened his mouth wide and insisted upon giving his father's friend a dewy infantile kiss. As Mr. Lincoln gave the little one back to me, shaking his finger at him playfully, he said: "Tell your father, the rascal, that I forgive him for the sake of that kiss and those bright eyes."[1] Leaving an abiding memory in a mother's heart, the President turned to other scenes in this memorable visit. So early, not as a conqueror but as a friend, was Abraham Lincoln bringing into a southern home the peace that was in his own heart.

When the matters connected with the surrender at Appomattox had been completed, the return of the army commenced. The joy of those days was unspeakable. "The strife was o'er, the battle won." A vision of home was upon us all. Oh, the thrill of it, unlike any other thrill in our army experiences. Then, with the suddenness of a thunderbolt from gathering clouds, came the tidings of the President's

[1] Pickett, *The Heart of a Soldier,* 14–16.

assassination, and all our joy was changed into unutterable sorrow. Was it peace after all? On the day of the President's funeral in Washington, I was in the little village of Prince Edward Court House (perhaps fifteen or twenty miles from Appomattox) having been sent from Farmville to obtain some information desired by General John I. Curtin on whose staff I was then serving. It was nearly noon when I was ready to return, and the President of Hampden-Sidney College, whom I had met in connection with my business, invited me to dine with him and his family. As we were taking our seats at the table the sound of distant cannon was heard, and the faces of all the assembled members of the family were at once turned toward me with anxious surprise as if inquiring what such an outbreak possibly could mean. "Don't be troubled," I said, "this is the day of President Lincoln's funeral in Washington, and twelve o'clock is the hour in which the army has a part in this service. It is a presidential salute." Breaking the silence that followed, the President of the college added slowly, reverently, "We have lost our best friend." It was a thought doubtless that found expression in many a southern home in those days following the assassination.

Not in vain had Abraham Lincoln retained in his own hands the direction of the great issues of the war as he understood them; and the war was ending as he wished and expected it to end. While Grant's army was returning to Washington, Sherman was bringing his army up the seaboard states of the Confederacy, in South Carolina compelling the Confederate evacuation of Charleston without hostilities; while in North Carolina, also without conflict, he received the surrender of the last important remaining forces of States Rights and Secession, under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston. The "house divided against itself" had not fallen, but the half free and half slave condition of things no longer existed; and the "one common country" had now before it an opportunity for entering upon a new phase of its national life. Periods of reconstruction, however, are not always what they might be and should be; but in the efforts that were made there was progress, and long before the century ended a period of prosperity for the

whole country had been reached such as these United States had not previously known.

Those of you who attended the meetings of the American Historical Association in Richmond, Va., in December, 1907, will remember that one entire evening was devoted to papers having reference to the Wilderness Campaign in the Civil War. The first of these papers was by General Edward P. Alexander, a graduate of the Military Academy at West Point in 1857, and afterwards 2nd Lieut. of Engineers, U. S. A., until 1861, and Chief of Artillery in Longstreet's corps, also later in the Army of Northern Virginia, from April, 1861, until the surrender at Appomattox. The other paper was by Colonel William Roscoe Livermore, long an honored member of this Society. Both papers were printed by the Association.[1]

My reference to this meeting of the American Historical Association at the capital of the Confederacy, however, is for another purpose than to recall an interesting and memorable discussion forty-two years after Appomattox. At the opening of the twentieth century General Alexander was one of the most distinguished of the survivors of the Army of Northern Virginia. After the war, like General Lee, he turned his attention to duties that were helpful in the work of reconstruction, principally in connection with railroads in the South and in large engineering enterprises. In his *Military Memoirs of a Confederate*, published in 1907,[2] General Alexander used these significant words in addressing surviving Confederates: "The world has not stood still in the years since we took up arms for what we deemed our most invaluable right — that of self-government. We now enjoy the rare privilege of seeing what we fought for in the retrospect. It no longer seems desirable. It would now prove only a curse. We have good cause to thank God for our escape from it, not only for our sake, but for that of the whole country and even of the world."[3]

[1] American Hist. Association, *Report*, 1908, I. 225, 235.

[2] Introduction, viii.

[3] That Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States in the Civil War, caught a glimpse of the twentieth century prosperity of the "reunited country," and evidently enjoyed the opportunity of reporting his vision to others, is a discovery that has recently been made by a review-

The world has not stood still since these thoughtful, sincere words found expression. All that General Alexander saw we now see and much more. Since the opening of the twentieth century our "one common country" has become a world-power, and taken its place in a great crisis of the world's history, in which the strength of our young manhood from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was greatly needed. In our increased retrospect the tall figure of Abraham Lincoln looms large in our backward look; and as we contemplate his unwearied service in maintaining our Federal Union, and in opening the way to our larger progress and greater prominence among the nations of the earth, we, too, as well as the people of the South, have good cause to thank God, "not only for our sake, but for that of the whole country and even of the world."

Dr. ALLEN followed with a paper on

NAVAL CONVOYS.

"Navies exist for the protection of commerce," said Captain Mahan, and "the necessity of a navy, in the restricted sense of the word, springs, therefore, from the existence of a peaceful shipping." [1] In war time, from the earliest conflicts to the most recent, armies and military stores and the products of maritime nations have been borne overseas in great fleets of transports and merchantmen escorted and protected

writer in the *Bookman* of New York, March 25, 1924, 85. What we learn concerning this glimpse is found in a speech made by Mr. Davis to young men in Mississippi City, Miss., in 1888, and now published by Dr. Dunbar Rowland, in his *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, His Letters, Papers and Speeches,* x. 48. The citation is as follows: "The faces I see before me are those of young men; had I not known this I would not have appeared before you. Men in whose hands the destinies of our Southland lie, for love of her I break my silence, to speak to you a few words of respectful admonition. The past is dead; let it bury its dead, its hopes and its aspirations; before you lies the future — a future full of expanding national glory, before which all the world shall stand amazed. Let me beseech you to lay aside all rancor, all bitter sectional feeling, and to take your places in the ranks of those who will bring about a consummation devoutly to be wished — a reunited country."

[1] Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power upon History,* vii, 26.

by fighting ships. Some of the more notable instances it may be of interest to recall.

When Xerxes in 480 B.C. invaded Greece, his army of one million seven hundred thousand men crossed the Hellespont by two bridges and marched through Thrace and Macedonia. The fleet, carrying horses, equipment, food, and supplies of all sorts, skirted the shore. There were three thousand transports protected by twelve hundred and seven triremes. It required a force of over half a million to man the whole fleet. One hundred and seventy rowers and thirty fighting men made the crew of a trireme. The entire number of Persians on the expedition, including army, navy, artisans, and laborers, but not counting a horde of camp-followers, amounted to more than five millions. Xerxes must have had a well organized commissariat. The fleet was driven on the coast of Magnesia by a storm, with a loss of four hundred men-of-war and vast numbers of transports.[1]

After this, Athens became a great naval power. In 415 B.C., during the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians undertook their ill-starred expedition against Syracuse. The fleet was fitted out for long service and elaborate preparations were made. There were sixty fighting ships, seventy-six troop-ships, thirty food transports, and a hundred smaller craft loaded with munitions and other stores. Transports relied mainly on sail power and carried relatively small crews, leaving room for soldiers. Fighting ships, for facility in manœuvring, were propelled by oars and were heavily manned; they carried sail also when cruising. About sixty-four hundred troops were transported on this expedition, also craftsmen representing various trades, and horses. All these assembled at Corcyra (Corfu) and when ready set sail for Tarentum, thence to Rhegium, where most of the fleet was left, while sixty ships crossed over to Sicily. The enterprise was badly managed and ended in failure.[2]

During the Punic Wars many Roman and Carthaginian fleets must have sailed over the Mediterranean. Some of them are mentioned by historians, but only one or two in

[1] Herodotus, Bk. VII. ch. 55, 60, 89, 97, 184–186, 188, 190, 191. See article by "Periscope" in *Blackwood's Magazine*, October, 1923.

[2] Thucydides, Bk. VI. ch. 31, 32, 43, 44, 50–52.

detail.[1] The army of Scipio, which brought to a close the second Punic War and whose victories gained for the general his surname Africanus, crossed the Mediterranean in 204 B.C. The exact strength of this army is not known and is estimated at from twelve to thirty-five thousand. The fleet assembled at Lilybaeum, in Sicily. There were four hundred transports and forty ships of war. Everything needful was made ready and provisions for forty-five days were taken. The transports sailed in two divisions, right and left, and each division was protected by twenty war ships. Each of the latter carried a single light at the stern and each transport showed two lights. In spite of fog there was no mishap during the three days' voyage and a landing was made on the coast near Carthage.[2]

In the year A.D. 533 the emperor Justinian sent an expedition against the Vandals in North Africa. He gave the command to his general, Belisarius, who assembled his forces at Constantinople. There were five hundred transports which varied in size from thirty to five hundred tons and were manned by twenty thousand sailors. These ships conveyed thirty-five thousand soldiers, five thousand horses, arms, engines, and military stores, water and provisions for three months. The escort comprised ninety-two light brigantines (small galleys), rowed by two thousand young men of Constantinople. In June 533, the whole fleet was drawn up before the palace and set sail on signal of the trumpet. From the Hellespont they crossed to the Peloponnesus, where they landed at Methone in Messenia for rest and health. From this place they proceeded along the shore as far as the island of Zacynthus and thence across the Ionian Sea to the south coast of Sicily. The last stretch of the voyage was over to a point off Cape Bon, thence following a southerly course along shore, before a north-east gale, to an anchorage about five days' journey south of Carthage. Here they disembarked in September.[3]

[1] Livy, Bk. XXVI, ch. 19, Bk. XXVIII, ch. 46; Polybius, Bk. III, ch. 41; R. B. Smith, *Rome and Carthage — The Punic Wars* (London, 1881), 78.

[2] Livy, Bk. XXIX, ch. 25, 26, 27; Smith, 201.

[3] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1827), v. 125–129.

In English history the first mention of convoy [1] occurs in the reign of Edward III. In 1372 it was ordered that the king's ships convoying the wine fleet to France should receive the customs duty of two shillings per tun on wines safely landed in England, "less what they make by trading themselves or by captures from the enemy." [2] "The history of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries shows that there was not only no continuity of naval policy, but that the navy was regarded mainly as a subsidiary arm, useful for transport, or to clear the way for military transport, but with no value as a weapon in itself." [3]

In these early days merchantmen were armed not only in war, but, as a defense against pirates, in times of peace. They reinforced the navy. But by the middle of the seventeenth century, when the navy had become firmly established as one of the arms of national defense, the merchant marine began to be regarded as a burden rather than an auxiliary. Its protection became more and more the important function of the navy.[4]

In modern times the convoy system was first developed on a large scale by Spain. Early in the sixteenth century the Spanish treasure ships, unprotected except by their own guns, began to bring over the newly found riches of the Western Hemisphere. The trade was a government monopoly. About 1520 the French, English, and Dutch began to prey upon this commerce. In 1526 the ships were ordered to sail together for mutual protection. Such fleets were called *flotas* by the Spanish — the English called them *plate-fleets*. Soon after this came the armed guard or escort, at first usually of two ships. Englishmen of the period spoke of vessels furnishing naval escort as *wafters*. To pay the expense of protecting the Spanish treasure fleets a convoy tax was collected. The system of flotas and protection was not

[1] The word "convoy" is often loosely used. Strictly it means the whole fleet, including the "train," or body of ships under protection, and the "escort," or armed ships furnishing the protection. See Gleaves, *History of the Transport Service*, 33.

[2] Marsden, *Law and Custom of the Sea*, I. (*Publications of the Navy Records Society*, XLIX), xii, 92.

[3] Oppenheim, *Naval Accounts of Henry VII* (*Navy Records Society*, VIII), ix.

[4] Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean* (London, 1917), 196–199.

strictly adhered to, except in time of war, until after 1560. Then the practice of sending two fleets twice a year became continuous. One fleet was called the Flota of New Spain and traded to Mexico, the other, bound for the Spanish Main, was called the Flota of Tierra Firma. These fleets generally sailed in company as far as Hispaniola, whence the first proceeded to Mexico. The second went to Carthagena and thence continued west to Nombre de Dios, the Atlantic port of the isthmus, whither the Peruvian treasure was brought overland from Panama. This fleet then proceeded through the Yucatan Channel to Havana to join the homeward-bound Mexican fleet. At all points where the flotas touched, squadrons of galleys and frigates were established as guard-ships. This was the regular practice, to which there might be exceptions.[1]

The safe arrival of the plate-fleet was of immense importance to Spain. The wealth and power of the nation depended upon this treasure. Its failure to arrive caused business distress throughout Spain and among the merchants of other countries trading with Spain. In 1555 further protection was necessary and was furnished by small fighting squadrons of six sail. This was effective against the French, but later, when the English under Hawkins appeared and acted with the French, the passage was beset with peril. The naval resources of Spain were severely strained in the effort to meet this requirement. Every precaution was taken. Information as to the movements of hostile squadrons was fairly well furnished by a regular postal service carried on by light, fast vessels called *avisos*. After severe losses inflicted by Drake, the plan was adopted of bringing the treasure in fast, well-armed frigates. In 1596 the Spanish destroyed a flota worth four million ducats, or much more according to some accounts, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the British. In 1656 a homeward bound plate-fleet was partially captured and partially destroyed off Cadiz by a squadron of British frigates, inflicting upon Spain a loss in modern value of about ten million pounds sterling.

[1] Oppenheim, *Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson*, II. (*Navy Records Society*, XXIII), App. B; Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, I. 87–89, II. 362–367, 393, 394.

In 1702 a particularly rich flota, for the capture of which extensive preparations had been made, succeeded in eluding the British fleet and escaping into Vigo. Here the flota was afterwards destroyed by a British expeditionary force, but most of the treasure had been removed and transported inland.[1]

During the War of 1652 between England and the Netherlands it was necessary for the Dutch to protect their sea trade through the English Channel. Convoys were assembled at the Texel, whence they were escorted through the Channel and then the ships had to look out for themselves. The men-of-war furnishing the escort cruised in the Channel until the arrival of other merchantmen from Spain or elsewhere which were then collected together and convoyed to home ports. The Baltic trade was very important to both the British and Dutch on account of the masts, hemp and pitch upon which both depended. In 1652 a fleet of British merchantmen, assembled in the Sound, was not allowed by the king of Denmark to sail with convoy, although later no obstruction was placed in the way of a Dutch convoy. In February 1653, Admiral Tromp, commanding a Dutch naval fleet of seventy or eighty sail with a convoy of merchantmen numbering one hundred and fifty to three hundred, according to different accounts, was homeward bound through the English Channel. A British fleet of about equal force was sent to intercept him. The result was a naval action off Portland. Tromp handled his convoy with skill and, although worsted, succeeded in saving his fleet, except a few of his men-of-war and about forty merchantmen.[2]

In 1693, during the War of the League of Augsburg, the British and their allies planned to blockade Admiral Tourville in Brest, but he sailed before they were ready to move. He had been ordered by the French government to put to sea in pursuit of a great British convoy, bound to Smyrna,

[1] Corbett, *Successors of Drake*, 102, 103; *England in the Mediterranean*, 289, 480, 481, 487–491. See Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power*, 41, 51, 207, 313, 316.

[2] Gardiner. *The First Dutch War*, II. 44, 45; III. 1, 2, 35; IV. 1–13, 23–30, 118–126, 177–197 (*Navy Records Society*, XVII, XXX, XXXVII). See Corbett, *Fighting Instructions* (*Ib.*, XXIX), 94.

information of which had been received. "Tourville surprised the convoy near the Straits, destroyed or captured one hundred out of four hundred ships, and scattered the rest." [1]

The difficulties attendant upon holding ships under convoy together and in order were always serious and when the fleets were large, it was often impossible to keep them under control. The merchant captains were generally far from amenable to discipline. They were tenacious of their independence and often unreasonable. Considerations of private gain, of a market for their cargoes, outweighed fear of capture. In 1708 Admiral Leake was in the English Channel with an outward bound convoy and, when urged to sail at once, replied that ". . . unless he was favoured with a fair wind for seven or eight days, his endeavours to get to Lisbon would be to little purpose, whilst he had four hundred sail to take care of; unless the masters of the merchant ships would be more diligent, a great many of whom would neither observe his signals for sailing nor endeavour to keep him company at sea; and that there was not fewer than thirty sail left behind when he sailed last, several of their masters taking a journey that day to Godalming to see their wives, though he was unmoored the day before." [2]

In 1711 Captain Hennington reported as follows to the Admiralty: "On the third of August at eight in the morning I perceived the fleet to be very much scattered. Some were as far ahead of me, and some to windward, as I could well see them upon our deck, I makeing but an easy sail, the better to keep company with the ships that sailed heavy, which at that time were a great way astern; upon which I fired a shott ahead, for those ahead to bring to, but found they took no notice of it, so continued still my saile and fired another shott, and as I came up with them they brought to. About noon I was come up with the headmost of them and fired a shott athwart their forefoot, which they observed. I hailed the *Mary* of Yarmouth, Benjamin Crow master, and bid him bring to, and sent my lieutenant aboard to bring the master to me, with a design to reprimand him for his offense

[1] Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power*, 194.

[2] Martin-Leake, *Life of Sir John Leake*, II. (*Navy Records Society*, LIII). 190.

and to make him pay my gunner for the shott. And the lieutenant brought me for answer that the master refused to do it and sent me word he had no business with me and would not go out of his ship. Upon which I sent my lieutenant again to bring him aboard; but when he came, he found the master armed with fire armes, who told him that if he offered to medle with him, [he] would shout him. Upon this I bore down to him with my ship and called to the master and asked him the reason for his insolence, and told him I would send my boat for him and if he resisted the Queen's ship in that manner, would fire into him. He replyed to me that if I did, he would fire into me again, and that if my boat came and offered to enter a man, he would shout him; and accordingly he kept of[f] the boate and would not suffer her to come aboard and ordered all his men to their quarters. I being unwilling to use any violence, whereby any of them might suffer, left him, with intent to refer it to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty." On this case the Admiralty obtained a legal opinion, which was: "Her Majesty, in her great goodness, provides convoy for her subjects, if they will take the benefit thereof; but I do not know any law that obliges them to put themselves under convoy, or when they have done so, not to leave the same. The business of the convoy is to take care of her Majesty's subjects that will be taken care of, but not to force them; and in the Articles of the Navy there are rules how the convoy shall behave themselves, but none touching those that are to be convoyed; and I do not know that leaving the convoy, without combining with an enemy, is an offense punishable by the common law or by the Admiralty law." Power to deal effectively with unruly merchantmen was afterwards provided by legislation.[1]

At a later day, that is in 1781, Nelson wrote, after his arrival in port with less than half of a large convoy under his command: "They behaved, as all convoys that ever I saw did, shamefully ill; parting company every day." [2]

In the Seven Years War a matter of chief concern to England was the protection of her commerce to the West and

[1] Marsden, *Law and Custom of the Sea*, II. (*Navy Records Society*, L). 220, 221.

[2] Mahan, *Life of Nelson*, 28.

East Indies. The usual route for the West Indian trade was by way of Madeira. Beyond that rendezvous the convoys separated in mid-ocean, those bound to Barbadoes proceeding directly to that island, while the Jamaica and Leeward Islands trade kept on to Antigua. From this point the ships were distributed to their various destinations, those bound to Jamaica sailing along the south coast of Porto Rico and San Domingo. The French, holding most of the Windward Islands, had the advantage of position and the British trade, upon approaching the West Indies, was exposed to the danger of attack. For the homeward voyage all merchantmen, including those from Barbadoes, assembled at Antigua. The fleet required special protection during the first part of the passage and in addition to its regular escort was accompanied by most of the Leeward Islands squadron as far north as the twenty-second parallel of latitude. In 1757 the Admiralty ordered that two convoys should sail for home each year, in June and in July. One homeward bound fleet in 1759 comprising over three hundred merchantmen, described as enormously rich, was escorted by eight ships of the line and other vessels; it reached home safely.[1]

One of these great fleets under sail — hundreds of square-rigged vessels covering the ocean farther than the eye could see — must have presented a spectacle of marvelous beauty and interest.

During the American Revolution the British transport fleets were closely watched, whenever possible, by the Americans. The orders of the Marine Committee of Congress to Continental cruisers were to keep in touch with these fleets, follow their movements, and ascertain their destinations, if practicable, intercepting stragglers as opportunity offered and incidentally giving convoy to American merchantmen. Many such transports, both troopships and supply ships, separated from their convoy, were picked up from time to time by cruisers of the Continental navy, the State navies, and privateers. Valuable cargoes of military stores and many prisoners were captured. The British ocean trade, especially after France entered the war in 1778, was strongly guarded. The

[1] Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, I. 353–358, 361, 393. See Laughton, *Papers of Lord Barham*, I. (*Navy Records Society*, XXXII). 9–17, 27–38.

great West India convoys aroused the particular interest of French and American warships and privateers. The hopes of the Marine Committee, however, were often unrealized. The young American navy had much to learn. But disappointments were offset by occasional successes.[1]

In 1779 three Continental cruisers, under the command of Commodore Whipple, fell in with a Jamaica fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, near the Banks of Newfoundland. It was a foggy morning in July. Nothing could be seen, but the sound of signal guns and ships' bells indicated the presence of a fleet. When the fog lifted, towards noon, the American frigate *Queen of France* found herself close by a large merchant ship, from whom it was learned that the fleet was under convoy of a seventy-four and several frigates and sloops of war. Under the pretence of being a British frigate, Captain Rathburne sent a boat to the English ship and quietly took possession of her, and then took another ship in the same manner. The American squadron remained in the fleet all day. No alarm was excited among the Englishmen and eleven prizes were taken.[2]

In 1780 an entire British convoy, laden with military stores for the East and West Indies, was captured by the allied French and Spanish fleets off the coast of Portugal. Sixty prizes with nearly three thousand prisoners were taken into Cadiz. The next year, when Admiral Rodney seized St. Eustatius, the spoils were sent home to England in a convoy of thirty-eight ships, most of which were captured by a French fleet in the English Channel. Some months later, a large French West India convoy was attacked a hundred and fifty miles west of Brest by Admiral Kempenfeldt with an inferior force. With the advantage of position, however, and by better management, he succeeded in breaking up the fleet and carrying off many prizes.[3]

[1] Paullin, *Out-Letters of the Continental Marine Committee* (*Publications of the Naval History Society*, IV, V), I. 51, 111, 112, 117–123, 219; II. 236, 239, 243, 257; Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, VI. 946, 1127; Papers of the Continental Congress, CLII. 2, 45, 99; Massachusetts Archives, CLII. 165, 330, 362, 391.

[2] Clark, *Naval History of the United States*, I. 94.

[3] Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power*, 382, 404, 408; Channing, *History of the United States*, III. 325; Corbett, *Signals and Instructions* (*Navy Records Society*, XXXV). 138.

In the sailing and fighting instructions governing the British Navy during the eighteenth century are many provisions for the management of convoys. Signals regulating the movements of vessels by day or night are prescribed to meet various contingencies. When an enemy appears, the ships of war may be ordered to "draw from among the convoy, that they may be the readier to form or pursue." "Upon meeting with an enemy with merchant ships under convoy," some of the ships of war may be signaled "to fall upon the convoy, whilst the others are engaged." In case of need the admiral may order "all the transports and vessels under convoy [to] disperse and shift for themselves." [1]

For many years, during the wars of the French Revolution and of Napoleon, and our War of 1812, the belligerents were largely engaged in commerce destroying; and the protection of trade was of paramount importance. In 1793 a bad harvest in France made necessary the importation of food supplies from the United States. A fleet of a hundred and thirty French merchant ships assembled in Chesapeake Bay and a naval squadron was sent over from Brest for their protection. The convoy sailed for home April 11, 1794. "It seems somewhat remarkable that the British government, which was fairly well informed as to the designs of the French, should not have attempted to intercept the convoy at its port of departure. That is the point at which a great maritime expedition, whether purely military or otherwise, can usually be most effectually watched; and in this case the more so, because, if the convoy had eluded the blockading squadron, the latter, few in number and homogeneous, could easily have outstripped the unwieldy multitude and again awaited it off its port of arrival. The success of this mass of merchantmen in escaping the numerous enemies that attended it off the coast of France is a striking illustration of the uncertainties of commerce-destroying, and of the chances that favor the safe arrival of a body of ships when the enemy is in doubt as to their exact destination." [2]

Another French squadron sailed from Brest in April, fol-

[1] Corbett, *Signals and Instructions*, 172, 204, 227, 242, 295, 310, 341, 348, 349, 350, 359, 360.

[2] Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, I. 122, 123.

lowed about the middle of May by a large and powerful fleet, for the purpose of meeting this convoy and bringing it safely into port. Admiral Howe, with a fleet of equal force, had previously sailed, but did not encounter his enemy until May 28. On this day and the next the fleets fought each other and then for two days remained in proximity. The famous battle of the First of June followed, in which the French were defeated. All these happenings had taken place not far from the rendezvous appointed for the convoy, which on May 30, in a dense fog, passed over the spot where the fleets had fought the day before. Two weeks later it arrived safely at Brest.[1]

After a few years of warfare the French government abandoned all attempts to contest with England the supremacy of the sea. She kept her fleets in port and definitely adopted a policy of commerce-destroying, sending out single cruisers. This, in the opinion of naval strategists, was a mistaken policy and "had absolutely no effect upon the issue of the war."[2]

Nevertheless, although the commerce of France was swept from the sea, her cruisers and privateers were able to inflict severe injury upon British trade. The losses of ships, and of the seamen greatly needed to keep up the fighting strength of the nation, brought about in 1798 the passage of an act compelling the taking of convoy by merchantmen and the payment of a tax for protection. The French privateers closely watched and studied the movements and the habits of their enemies and learned the times of sailing and arrival of the large convoys.[3]

In 1797 twelve American merchantmen were at anchor in the harbor of Malaga, where there were also a number of French privateers. Although the United States and the French Republic were at peace, it was feared that under the decrees of the French government, the privateers would seize the American ships when they sailed. The United States consul at Gibraltar thereupon applied to Admiral Nelson for their protection. Nelson promptly ordered a British frigate to escort the vessels from Malaga out of

[1] Mahan, *French Revolution and Empire,* ch. v.
[2] *Ib.,* I. 179, 201, 202.
[3] *Ib.,* II. 205–210, 218–220.

danger, even through the Straits, if necessary. He wrote to the consul: "I am sure of fulfilling the wishes of my Sovereign and, I hope, of strengthening the harmony which at present so happily subsists between the two nations." The next year, and for nearly three years, the United States and France were actually at war on the sea and American merchant ships sailed in convoys, requiring strong guards especially in the West Indies.[1]

The hospitality extended by neutrals to privateers which swarmed in the Mediterranean, made very difficult the protection of British commerce. There was no end to the supplying of convoys and the number of cruisers for the service was insufficient. In 1804 Nelson wrote: "The protection afforded the enemy's privateers . . . in the different neutral ports of these seas, so contrary to every known law of neutrality, is extremely destructive of our commerce. . . . Although their conduct is infamous, yet their doing wrong is no rule why we should. There is a general principle which I have laid down for the regulation of the officers' conduct under my command — which is never to break the neutrality of any port or place; but never to consider as neutral any place from whence an attack is allowed to be made. It is certainly justifiable to attack any vessel in a place from whence she makes an attack." [2]

The First Lord of the Admiralty, Barham, in May, 1805, issued a circular letter to the heads of committees for the East Indian and other foreign trade which shows the need at that time of increased vigilance on the part of England. "As the enemy is daily increasing their naval strength, it becomes necessary to have the times of sailing of our convoys fixed in such a way as may enable [us] to give them stronger escorts than has been hitherto necessary, and to conceal them as much as possible from the enemy. To accomplish this, their lordships desire you will consult the owners of the trade in your line, of the number of convoys which [will be] wanting within the year and specify the exact times when they will be wanted to sail from Spithead or elsewhere; and when you have settled this point, you will inform me of the

[1] Mahan, *Life of Nelson*, 247; *French Revolution and Empire*, II. 258.
[2] Mahan, *Life of Nelson*, 610.

result in a sealed package for their lordships' consideration. To contract as much as possible the number of convoys." This was followed three months later by a letter of Lord Barham to Admiral Cornwallis, commanding the Channel fleet. "As the East and West India fleets expected within these ten days are of the immense value of ten millions, . . . and as we are hurrying out the ships with every degree of possible dispatch to join you, I wish you may be able to contrive it so as to spare four ships and a frigate to cruise in the chops of the Channel for about ten days, for the preservation of these convoys and to take such other measures as may appear to you to be best to ensuring this object. . . . The safety of these fleets must be our first object and as soon as they have got within the Channel, we shall be able to make you strong in all quarters. You may probably be able to stand out for a very short time to the westward yourself, but this must depend upon information; I therefore leave the whole to your management." [1]

Throughout the War of 1812 the small navy of the United States and large numbers of American privateers were very active in preying upon British commerce on the high seas, in the West Indies, and off the entrance of the English Channel. In consequence it became necessary for England to increase the stringency of her regulations for the employment of convoy. "'All licenses to cross the Atlantic without convoy were at once revoked, and every colonial and naval commander lay under heavy responsibility to enforce the law of convoy. Insurance was forfeited by breach of its requirements; and in case of parting convoy, capture would at least hazard, if not invalidate the policy. Under all this compulsion, concentrated merchant fleets and heavy guards became as far as possible the rule of action." Large convoys were constantly crossing the ocean and few merchantmen were to be found unprotected and alone. Nevertheless, many prizes were picked up by enterprising American cruisers and privateers, and insurance rates rose to a great height.[2]

[1] Laughton, *Papers of Lord Barham*, III. (*Navy Records Society*, XXXIX). 86, 277.

[2] Mahan, *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812*, I. 319, 388; II. 23, 130, 216, 220, 230, 263.

By the time the long peace following this era of warfare had terminated, the days of the great convoys of merchantmen under sail were forever gone. In the Crimean War an allied fleet of British, French, and Turkish men-of-war and transports sailed, in September 1854, from Baltchik Bay, near Varna, to Eupatoria on the Crimean peninsula, a week's trip. The transports carrying the allied armies and their impedimenta sailed in six columns, the sailing vessels being towed by steamers, with ships of war ahead and on the flanks. The narrator of this expedition, Major Hamley, observes that "though more numerous invading armies have traversed the Euxine, yet so complete and imposing an armament never before moved on the waters of any sea." [1]

During our Civil War protection was given to commerce by the United States Navy, in certain cases, from the beginning to the end, but generally by convoying single vessels through perilous seas. The Pacific mail steamers received particular attention, on account of the great amount of gold they commonly brought from California. For this service, a convoy fleet of three cruisers detailed from the West India Squadron was maintained on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Panama. When danger appeared imminent, one of these treasure ships would be conducted all the way from Aspinwall to New York, but usually not north of Mariguana, one of the Bahamas, or perhaps only between that island and Navassa, between Haiti and Jamaica. The mail steamers, being much faster than their escorts, sometimes dropped them behind, preferring the risk of capture to a delayed voyage. Protection was also provided, when occasion seemed to call for it, on the Pacific side of the isthmus. On the Mississippi River and other western waters, army transports and supply vessels, and merchant steamers as well, were regularly furnished with convoy by the navy.[2]

The subject of naval convoy is not mentioned in the Declaration of Paris, proclaimed in 1856, and seems not to have been discussed on that occasion or at either of the

[1] Hamley, *Complete Narrative of the War in Southern Russia*, ch. ii.

[2] *Official Records of Union and Confederate Navies*, First Series, I. 73, 604; II. 34, 166, 180; III. 196, 212–217, 373, 411, 455, 560; IV. 342, XXIII. 325, 341; XXV. 201, 549.

Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907; but in the Declaration of London, of 1909, it is provided that: "Neutral vessels under national convoy are exempt from search" (Chapter VII, Articles 61 and 62). The Declaration of London, however, was not ratified.[1]

By the time the World War was half over the question of employing the convoy system, as a means of protection against German cruisers and submarines, was being widely discussed, but for many months the disadvantages of the system, in the opinion of British naval authorities, outweighed the advantages. If adopted, it would be necessary for ships to proceed to certain designated ports, there assemble and wait for the convoy to be made up; and after sailing, the speed of the fleet would be held down to that of the slowest ship. All this would cause delay, annoyance, and loss, and a proportionate reduction of the carrying capacity of the merchant service as a whole. Moreover, there were too few cruisers and destroyers in the naval service for the protection of the proposed convoys. This objection was afterwards met by the aid furnished by other navies, especially that of the United States, and by using converted merchantmen. Merchant captains, distrustful of their own abilties, insisted that they could never learn to sail in fleets and manœuvre their ships by signal, particularly at night when sailing without lights. At a conference held at the British Admiralty in February 1917, it was agreed that the time had not come for the adoption of such a scheme; but by the end of April the increasing losses of shipping had become so alarming that drastic measures of some sort were called for, and a trial of the convoy system was decided upon.[2]

An experimental convoy was sent home to England from the Mediterranean in May. Admiral Sims says that "the success with which it made the voyage disproved all the pessimistic opinions which the merchant sailors had entertained about themselves;" and he regards the date of the arrival of this convoy, May 20, 1917, as one of the turning

[1] Scott, *The Declaration of London*, 49, 50, 126, 177, 205, 250.

[2] Sims, *The Victory at Sea*, ch. III, IV, XIII; Jellicoe, *The Crisis of the Naval War*, ch. IV, V; Gleaves, *History of the Transport Service*.

points of the war. It was then determined to put the system gradually, but as rapidly as possible, into full operation.[1]

The arrangements for convoy were based upon four main geographical divisions: First, the Mediterranean; second, the South Atlantic; third, the Gulf of Mexico and southern United States; and fourth, Canada and northern United States, with assembly ports for this last and most important division, at Halifax (or Sydney, Cape Breton), New York, and Hampton Roads.[2]

Each convoy was escorted throughout the voyage by a naval cruiser, or perhaps more commonly a fast merchantman armed with six-inch guns and under the command of a naval officer. This ship, which acted as flagship of the fleet, was regarded as a means of protection against possible German raiders and cruisers that might have escaped through the blockade in the North Sea, more than against submarines. The other ships of the convoy were also armed, but with fewer and lighter guns. A fleet of cargo transports generally comprised about twenty-five or thirty ships. A commodore of the convoy took general charge of the fleet, but he was subordinate to the commander of the escorting cruiser.[3] Speed, a sharp lookout, zigzagging, camouflage painting, and sailing at night without lights were some of the means used to promote security. At about four or five hundred miles from the European shore the convoy was met by a number of destroyers and escorted by them through the danger zone.

Troopships sailed in smaller convoys than cargo transports. The fastest ships were used for transporting troops and they were given more protection. Cargo ships not only sailed in larger fleets, and more frequently, but the total number of vessels was very much larger than of troopships — one hundred to one. They followed a course north of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, while the troopships kept south of that line. The German submarines, only about eight or ten of which were at sea at any one time, were unable to cover the whole ground and devoted most of their

[1] Sims, *Victory at Sea*, 114.
[2] Salter, *Allied Shipping Control* (*Carnegie Endowment*), 125.
[3] Jellicoe, *Crisis of the Naval War*, 132, 134.

attention to the cargo ships, the chances of sinking them being much greater. This accounts for the remarkable immunity of the troopships, not one of which, east bound, was lost.[1]

The American ships in these convoys were troopships or cargo transports taking food, supplies, and military stores to the allied armies. They were operated either by the Navy or the United States Shipping Board and were therefore all in the government service. They were armed and each cargo ship, in addition to the regular crew, carried a detail of twenty or more men from the navy to work the guns and keep lookout, and for signal and radio service.

An elaborate system was organized by which the convoys were kept under control of the Admiralty convoy room in London. By wireless the movements of the fleets were regulated and their positions were daily marked on charts. They were kept informed of the movements of German submarines, which betrayed their positions to the allies by their constant use of wireless communication with each other and with their government.[2]

"The system was a triumphant success," says a British authority. To be sure, the losses of allied and neutral merchant shipping during the last eight months of 1917, under the convoy system, were heavier than for the whole years 1915 and 1916 combined,[3] but the Germans did not begin their unrestricted campaign until early in 1917. No month after June was as bad as March, not to mention the calamitous month of April. By the end of summer, when the method of convoy had become well established, the crisis was passing and a feeling of confidence was beginning to be manifest. This betterment was not due to destruction of submarines; on the contrary, according to this authority, their numbers at sea were constantly growing.[4]

There were some notable disasters. Admiral Jellicoe tells of two convoys, bound to Scandinavian ports late in 1917,

[1] Sims, *Victory at Sea,* 355–367.

[2] *Ib.,* 122–130.

[3] Losses for May to December (inclusive), 1917 — 3,719,621 tons; for 1915 and 1916 — 3,617,785 tons. During April, 1917, the tonnage lost was 866,610.

[4] Salter, *Allied Shipping Control,* 127, 128, 355–359.

which were almost completely destroyed, together with their escorts, by German raiders in the North Sea.[1] A tragic instance in our own service was the loss of the U.S.S. *Ticonderoga,* a cargo ship manned by the navy and with troops on board, in mid ocean, September 30, 1918. She had dropped behind her convoy and was sunk by gunfire and torpedo from a German submarine. Nearly all on board were lost, including over a hundred soldiers bound to France.[2]

Far less beautiful and picturesque than the old-time fleets of vast numbers of ships and brigs under full sail, the convoys of the World War were still by no means lacking in impressiveness and interest, and the fortitude of these sailors of the navy and the merchant marine is worthy of the best traditions of the sea.

War Letters of Charles P. Bowditch.

Mr. Ford stated that by the courtesy of the family of our late member, Mr. Charles P. Bowditch, the Society is able to publish his war letters, which had been arranged by Mr. Bowditch to serve as a personal record.

The Civil War broke out in April, 1861. In July 1861, I had passed my Sophomore year in College, and on July 22, I wrote to my father in Sharon, N. Y., in pencil: "Dear Father, I write thus hastily on my way to Boston, to ask your permission to join a regiment. We have been defeated most abominably, and must retrieve our fortune. Answer quickly, yr. aff. son, C. P. Bowditch."

My brother Henry joined the First Mass. Cavalry in the following December. The above letter together with those which follow had been preserved by my father and mother and came into my hands after their deaths.

Father refused to let me join the army by the following letter:

[1] Jellicoe, *Crisis of the Naval War,* 127, 130.

[2] Gleaves, *Transport Service,* ch. xv; Navy Department, *German Submarine Activities on the Atlantic Coast,* 106.

Charles Pickering Bowditch
Captain 55th Mass. Volunteers
1863–1864

Sharon Springs, 24 July, 1861.

My dear Charles, — I have yours of 23d asking my permission to join one of the Massachusetts regiments. The feeling which induces you to go to the war is natural and proper and if I thought your services were required by your country I would not hesitate. Under the bitter accounts received of the battle of Bull's Run, I don't wonder at your excitement. This I will promise, that when the time comes for your fighting, and come it may, I will cheerfully give my consent; at present I do not perceive any necessity. Keep up your drill, learn all you can, so if you should be called into service you may be able to take the position your knowledge may entitle you to. . . . Your aff. father,

J. I. Bowditch.

To this I replied, July 28:

To tell the truth I was not much surprised at your refusal to allow me to join the army, but it has not caused any difference in my feelings. I don't think that you at Sharon, where your life is so quiet and easy, can understand what is wanted *here*. The North seems in a torpor from which nothing can wake them except some terrible disaster ten times as severe as that which we have received. The country must be aroused to the sense of its dangers. The regiments are not filling up fast and if this goes on the barbarous system of drafting must be resorted to. The country wants soldiers and before Massachusetts should be obliged to come to drafting, I think that every gentleman and gentleman's son ought to go into the field. Such a proceeding would exercise a good influence on everybody. If a company or regiment of gentlemen should be raised, those in the lower classes would be brought to understand that they too should be willing to sacrifice their lives for the good of the country. Nobody here seems to be awake. There ought to be public meetings in Boston and in fact throughout the country to stir the people up and tell them what is really wanted. The people are ready to do what is needful, if they only knew what that is. They do not feel that there is any necessity for extra exertion and are as quietly settled down now as they were before the defeat at Bull's Run. Then look at the people at the head of our Government. . . . And then Cameron! what an old heathenish rascal. He has just carried the Mass. 12th round by the way of Harrisburg, giving the soldiers a ride longer by seven or eight hours and causing an extra expense to the Government of 3 or 4000 dollars.[1] I wish he could be removed.

[1] Cameron was heavily interested in the railroad line between Harrisburg and Baltimore. — C. P. B.

. . . I hope as soon as you come back and see how torpid we are here that you will go and see Gov. Andrew, and Edwd. Everett, and L. Saltonstall, and make them get up a meeting in Faneuil Hall where patriotic addresses shall be made to rouse the people from their stupor.

It must have been about this time that I had printed and posted round Boston the call "To Arms! To Arms!" a copy of which, found among my papers, is here reproduced.

I supposed that I accepted the inevitable, though I was by no means satisfied and Father, in order to take my mind off of the army, obtained from Dr. Bache, the head of the U. S. Coast Survey, a place in Dr. Bache's own camp on Mount Tom, Mass. It was from here that I wrote the following three letters.

August 5, 1862.

DEAR FATHER, — You remember last year when I spoke to you about enlisting, you said that there were so many men ready to go, that there was no need of men of education volunteering. It seems to me now that the case has changed, at least in this state, and men are coming in very slowly to the recruiting offices. I think no one will deny that it is the duty of every one, who is not held back by duties or ties which he cannot break, to volunteer and set an example for others to follow. Those who have families to support or whose absence would bring distress to many others have some reason for staying at home. But all others ought to go. Now here I am, of no earthly use in my present position, and having completed with the exception of one year, my whole college course. There is no doubt that the country wants men, and that, speedily. The example of gentlemen volunteering would be extremely advantageous. The common people, so far from the war as they are here, cannot perhaps understand the necessities of the occasion simply from newspaper addresses and enthusiastic speeches. But if they saw that the time is so threatening as to require gentlemen to enlist, they would have an example before their eyes, which their own senses would lead them to follow.

Don't think now that my wish to enlist is caused by any enthusiasm to see service and get a shot at a rebel, for it is far otherwise. Taking my own feelings simply into consideration, I do not think I should care to go. But, as I said before, it is every one's duty to enlist, if he possibly can, and why is it not

TO ARMS!

TO ARMS!

MEN OF MASSACHUSETTS!

Your COUNTRY is in danger! She calls on you for her defence. She puts her trust in you. You will fight in a righteous cause. Will you hear her in silence? Will you permit her to raise her voice in vain? Has she erred in placing her confidence in you?

FILL UP THE REGIMENTS

then, and let not MASSACHUSETTS be behindhand in sending her quota of troops! Let it not be said that the freemen of MASSACHUSETTS have lost their valor and patriotism! Let not the system of drafting be resorted to, but show the South and the whole world that the OLD BAY STATE will send forth her sons without stint for the defence of their country!

FILL UP THE REGIMENTS then. Enlist and let the name and praise of MASSACHUSETTS be in the mouth of all!

First in sending troops for the defence of the Capital, let her be last in ceasing to send them! Think of the glorious deeds of our soldiers and let them incite you to emulate them! Where are the descendants of those who fought at LEXINGTON and BUNKER'S HILL? Do not the deeds of your sires urge you to devote your lives to the preservation of the Union? Has CONCORD been forgotten? Do not the memories of '76 live in your hearts? Rise, then, and show that northern freemen still hold liberty as their dearest possession, and that they will give their lives and property for its maintenance! FILL UP THE REGIMENTS! ENLIST! Onward in the name of GOD, your COUNTRY and the CONSTITUTION!

mine as much as other people's? I have nobody to depend upon me and am not in a position to bring misery on any one by going. What can be more clearly my duty than to go? If you are not willing to send your sons why should others be willing to send theirs? I wish you would consider this seriously and answer as soon as possible. Your aff. son,

CHARLES.

P. S. Of course you will not let anybody but Mother see this letter.

August 6, 1862.

DEAR FATHER, — I have just got yesterday's newspaper with the call for 300,000 more troops. There is now therefore a much stronger reason for enlisting than before. It might be possible perhaps for me to get a commission among the 500 officers which will have to be given in the new regiments. If this is not practicable I ought to enlist as a private, and I don't think that you ought to let your private feelings be of any weight whatever. There is one chance in five that I shall be drafted and how much more satisfactorily I should feel to go of my own free will than to seem to be *compelled* to go. As far as I know your reasons are, that there is no use of my going and that I am too young and unable to bear the fatigue. There certainly is a need of me now in the ranks and as for my not being strong enough and too young, look at the number of young men who have gone much younger in years and without half the strength of constitution that I have, and see how they have borne the fatigues and exposures. There is Wendell Holmes who has not half the stamina that I have and he has been sick but once, and then got over it in a short time. The season is now becoming cooler and there is altogether less danger of any one's falling sick, especially if they take care of themselves. If you decide adversely to my wishes, which I really do not think you ought to do, seeing that the country wants as many defenders as possible, at any rate send me up an edition of the Infantry Tactics which is published in one volume. You seem to think that it is a very great sacrifice to let both your sons go off, and so it may be; but think how much greater sacrifice it is for those parents who send an only child to the wars. You have all the children to stay with you and why should you not be willing to send those who can be of so much use elsewhere? Anxiously expecting your answer, I am your aff. son,

CHARLES.

On August 8th Father wrote me from Boston:

My dear Boy, — The *tone* and spirit of your letters I cannot too much praise — you have stated the case as well as it could be — but I am very desirous that you should finish your college course, and, furthermore, I do not think that the country needs your services yet. It is believed that drafting may not be necessary. *You* are not liable as a student, therefore you cannot suffer from that course of procuring men if it is resorted to. I hope you will *cheerfully* acquiesce in the decision I have been compelled to arrive at, because I should be extremely sorry to cause you any unhappiness. You and Henry have been too good boys for their parents to do any thing to oppose their reasonable wishes. I send you the Infantry tactics and intend to buy for *myself* a rifle and become a good shot. If you wish one I will procure one. Your aff. father, J. I. B.

On August 9th, I wrote to Mother from Mount Tom:

I am anxiously waiting for Father's answer to my letters in regard to enlisting. I see by the papers that the 4th Batt. is to be recruited up to a Regiment. If Father allows me to go I should prefer to enlist in the First, I think, rather than in any other. If I go, I should not stick at nine months, but should want to go for three years or the war. My idea is to enlist as a private in one of the old regiments and at the same time apply for a commission. Then if I got a commission, all well and good; and if I didn't get one, I should be all ready for fighting. . . . Your aff. son,

Charles.

On August 9th, I wrote Father from Mount Tom (date probably wrong):

Dear Father, — I received your note yesterday afternoon and was indeed very much disappointed at your answer. You say students are not subject to draft and therefore there is no fear of my being obliged to go in that way. How much more proper is it that I should volunteer then, instead of retreating behind the fact of my being exempt! It seems to me a pitiful way of acting. But I do not think that you will find that students are exempt. I have never seen students mentioned among the list of exempts. There is no reason in the world why they should be. I think at any rate that you ought to let me go if I am drafted. That seems now to be my last resource. Your aff. son, Charles.

On August 14th, I wrote Mother from Mount Tom:

. . . It won't be of any use to discuss the question of my enlisting, as you and Father have fully made up your minds to keep me at home, so I will only say as I have said heretofore that I think you both show a lack of patriotism, and that I don't see why sending one son is any reason for not sending another, any more than doing half a good action is any more reason for leaving the other half unaccomplished. . . .

In February 1863, I made use of my College vacation to visit my brother Henry, who was Captain [1] in the First Massachusetts Cavalry, encamped near Acquia Creek. The first letter details my attempts to get a pass for this purpose. I found the regiment, but Henry was off on picket duty. My cousin Nat [2] was in camp however and I passed the night in his tent, sleeping with him in his bunk, and in the morning I was furnished with a horse and started off for the picket line. Here I found Henry and Chauncey Parsons,[3] and after riding on the picket line with Henry, I passed the night in the shelter tent which was their joint abode. They very kindly let me lie in the middle which enabled me to have the larger part of the blankets and to be saved from the snow which came in on the sides of the tent. A few weeks later Nat was killed at Kelly's Ford, while on the staff of General Averell,[4] and I went to Washington to help Uncle Henry, who had preceded me to bring back his body. In this we were successful, and on my taking Nat's body to the undertaker's in Boston, I found that he was preparing a coffin for my grandmother Nichols, who had died while I was away.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18th, '63.

DEAR MOTHER, — I arrived safely at this nasty city and, what with mud and rain and snow, shall be very glad to leave it. I ordered my baggage to be sent to Brown's Hotel and went up there to get a room, but was informed that it would be impossible to give me any accommodation as every bed was full. This was cheerful and so I started down to the National Hotel and,

[1] He was not captain till May 13, 1863.
[2] Nathaniel Bowditch, 1st Lieut., died of his wounds March 20, 1863.
[3] Charles Chauncy Parsons (1840–1901).
[4] William Woods Averell (d. 1900).

after much talking, I persuaded the clerk to give me a room in company with another man for the night, and a room by myself the next day. Pretty well disgusted, I started out to see Dr. Bache whom I found at home and Cousin Ben Peirce with him. Dr. and Mrs. Bache insisted on my bringing my carpet-bag to his house and taking up my abode there. This was much better than being at the National Hotel. Prof. Bache [1] advised me to deliver my letter to Mr. Whiting that evening and I might possibly get a pass to go down this morning. Not being able to find out where Mr. Whiting lived the Professor advised me to go to Mr. Potts's,[2] Chief Clerk of the War Department, and he would tell me. As it was near nine o'clock I took a hack and drove up to Mr. Potts's, way beyond the White House, in 17th Street, and found that Mr. Whiting was stopping at Willard's. So down again to Willard's, sent up my card and Mr. Whiting was not in. Went up to the parlor, however, and found him after several inquiries of various gentlemen, one of whom asked his wife where he was. Mr. Whiting read my letter and said that a new system of passes had been introduced into the army and that he could do nothing for me that night. So it was all up with regard to going to-day, for the boat only starts once a day at eight in the morning. I wanted to go at this time, since Prof. Peirce [3] and Prof. Horsford [4] intended to go. The former however decided not to go at all. So I returned to Dr. Bache's at about half past ten, pretty tired and very much disgusted. I found Mr. R. J. Walker at the Professor's. He is the brother-in-law of Dr. Bache. He was Secretary of the Treasury under President Polk, I believe. He and the two Professors kept talking till twelve, and though it was very pleasant to hear them, I was very glad to get into bed. I ought to have told you that Mr. Whiting told me to come to the War Department to-day and Mr. Whiting gave me a letter to Lieut.-Col. Conrad [5] through whom all the passes are given. Col. Conrad asked me where I wished to go, and on what business. I told him to Falmouth and that my business consisted in visiting my brother and cousin. He asked how long he had been off, etc. I told him that I had not seen him for over a year and that my purpose was to see him, if possible. He said that he had been obliged to refuse all passes for the purpose of seeing friends, but evidently he wanted to let me go, for he

[1] Alexander Dallas Bache (1806–1867).
[2] John Potts.
[3] Benjamin Pierce (1809–1880).
[4] Eben Norton Horsford (1818–1893).
[5] Joseph Speed Conrad (d. 1891).

said "Is your business such that you cannot transact it without seeing your brother?" I told him that I wished to visit him. He said, "Then you have business to transact which cannot be done without seeing your brother?" I said "Yes, I have." He then wrote out a pass for me allowing me to go for "imp't business with his brother." I suppose the first word means important. Such means do these officials take to get round themselves! So I go down to Acquia Creek tomorrow at eight.

On May 22nd, 1863, I joined the 55th Mass. Volunteer Infantry as Second Lieutenant, and went into camp at Readville on the easterly side of the Railroad, the 54th Regiment occupying the better camp on the other side. But after the 54th had broken camp, we were transferred to the one which they had occupied, and here we stayed until, in July, we were marched through Boston and took the steamer *Cahawba* for Newbern, N. C. In the meanwhile I had been promoted to be First Lieutenant and Captain. In our march through the city, we carried loaded guns, fearing an attack on the black troops, but nothing occurred, and we discharged our guns into the dock before embarking on board the transport.

On board the *Cahawba*,
July 24th, 1863.

Dear Mother, — After a day of pure seasickness and another day of half seasickness, I find myself this morning feeling pretty comfortable. We expect to reach Morehead City some time to-day. It is intended I believe to go from there to Newbern by rail. I doubt if we go to Roanoke Island, since the 1st North Carolina which forms a part of Wilde's[1] Brigade is encamped at Fort Spinola a few miles from Newbern. We have had but four incidents on our voyage. Schools of porpoises, a few whales, a shark or two and now and then a sail are all the excitements which we have had.[2] Almost all the officers and most of the men have been sick, but the latter have now so far recovered as to enjoy fighting and squabbling. It has been very amusing to look at the miserable faces of everybody, especially of the Field officers. The vessel which we are on is altogether too small for

[1] Edward Augustus Wild, d. 1891.

[2] I remember going to the stern of the boat on this voyage at night and seeing the wonderful phosphorescence as the ship made its way through the water. The sea was lighted up for many feet away from the ship. — C. P. B.

the purpose. Not one half of the men have bunks and the rest are obliged to sleep on the decks or in the hold. It is almost as much as your life is worth to go down into the hold where the men have to stay. It is so close that I always feel uncomfortably when I go down there. The vessel ought never to have been chartered to carry more than 500 men, and to put 1000 men into it is abominable. However we are pretty near the end of our journey and the men have borne it very well. . . . July 27th. Camp near Fort Spinola, opposite Newbern. Here we are in camp. The men have all got shelter tents, most of which are raised. The officers are at present supplied with one A tent to each company, but to-day we expect to get one for each officer. We are encamped in a very pretty place with the river Neuse in front of us and Fort Spinola on our left. The grounds are rather contracted and the men's tents are pitched directly in the midst of a field of old stumps which have to be dug up to give a chance for the tents. Yesterday we worked nearly all day cleaning up the camp and putting up the tents and pulling out stumps, and after all that Gen. Wilde ordered us out for a Brigade Drill with the 1st North Carolina. We were kept on our feet some three and one-half hours, when the men were nearly tired out before. They arrived on the ground on Saturday night and did not get to sleep till after ten. Then up again at half past four A.M. Work all day and then drill. Men did not get to bed till after ten. Then up again at five. No wonder that these negroes get sick, especially when their meat is Bologna sausage. However I have only eight on my sick list and not one in hospital. We have got a good healthy location here but I doubt if we stay here long. I am all right.

Camp near NEWBERN, N. C.
July 29th, 1863.

MY DEAR FATHER, — I sent you off a letter finished on Monday, on the 27th. Since then we have been getting the camp into some sort of order. It has been very hard work indeed, especially for the officers. We have had the shelter tents for the men to put up, almost with our own hands, besides our own tents. But hard work won't hurt us, I guess. We are now nearly settled down. There are two wall tents to each company which gives me one for myself. We have pitched them in rather a novel but very luxurious style. We let the two tents face each other and then stretch a fly over the interval. This gives us a long covered space of some twenty-six or twenty-seven feet. . . . We have had Brigade drills every day since we have been here. I went over to Newbern

yesterday on the Colonel's horse, who offered me the use of it if I could get her shod. I went to see Lewis Stackpole and his wife [1] and presented my letter of introduction to Gen. Wilde. He said that he thought we should see service in a short time. Half past seven P.M. We are very aristocratic here to-night in our quarters. I have got my mattress raised up on a bed of barrel staves which are themselves nailed on two poles some six feet long. This gives me all the advantage of a spring mattress. . . . This supported on four uprights really makes a [2] . . . Three A.M. We have received orders to start for Charleston immediately.

On board Steamer *Maple Leaf* (going down the NEUSE RIVER). July 30th, 1863

DEAR MOTHER, — Here we are bound, according to orders, for Charleston. I hope we shall go there, but I have my doubts. . . . Our starting was very sudden. We had just got the camp looking very well. I had my tents all pitched and very comfortable inside and the men's lines of tents looked very neatly. The orders came at about half past three to draw three days' rations immediately and have them cooked as soon as possible. For the first time of breaking camp, we did very well, considering that the negroes are not the *most* active persons in the world. By half past eight or nine we were ready for a start and marched out into a field just outside of camp, where we came to a halt to wait for the steamboat. Four companies had gone previously to embark on board a schooner. The steamer did not come for a couple of hours and in the mean time the rain came down just about as hard as it ever does rain. The men had their blankets both rubber and woolen rolled up together. Some unrolled them and covered themselves while others stood up against the storm manfully. Your humble servant took his rubber blanket and amused himself by catching the rain in it and then drinking it. The men were ordered to move in light marching order which allowed them only their blankets, canteens and haversacks. They were all eager to go, some of the men who had been reported sick being entirely unwilling to stay behind. I left Lieut. Nichols,[3] by desire of Col. Hallowell,[4] to take charge of the camp. This leaves me with only two officers to the company. I guess that will do though. We left all our officers' tents standing and almost

[1] Joseph Lewis Stackpole (1838–1904). His wife was Martha Watson Parsons.

[2] An unfinished sentence.

[3] Joseph T. Nichols.

[4] Edward N. Hallowell, of the 54th Mass. (colored) Infantry.

all our baggage in them. This does not look as if we were to be gone forever. We shall have rather a tedious journey, or rather voyage, wherever we go, since we have got a heavy schooner in tow. It *will* be perfectly jolly if we can have a hand in the taking of Charleston. How the Southern female population in that city would hate to pay proper respect to the colored soldiers from Massachusetts. Colored soldiers any how would be pretty bitter there, but when they combine the unpleasant properties of being colored and coming from Massachusetts it would be unbearable.

July 31st. We are now waiting as we have done since twelve or one o'clock last night, near Fort Hatteras. The authorities who have charge of the expedition were so careless as not to ascertain how many troops this vessel could carry over the bar, or rather took no notice of the assertions of the Captain who said that he could not pass over the bar with the troops he had on board. They found out how it was however when they got here, and so we have been engaged in taking out the troops from this steamer and transferring them to other vessels in order to relieve her. When we get through we shall have about 230 men left, out of 600 or 700. It will be a great relief to have the vessel less crowded, but it is abominable to have to wait when we might have had a hand in the fall of Charleston.[1] . . . Direct the next letter or two to Charleston, Department of Gen. Gillmore and my own impression is that we shall stay in that Department for some time.

On board Steamer *Maple Leaf*,
Aug. 2nd, 1863.

Dear Mother, — We are undoubtedly bound for Charleston. Capt. Drayton of Gen. Wilde's staff says that the General expects hard fighting, and will have it if he is allowed. Capt. D. however expects that we shall be put on garrison duty. We go under order from Gen. Halleck and are not expected by Gen. Gillmore. There is not an officer or man on board this vessel but is perfectly happy to be able to have a slap at Charleston. I am very sorry for our repulse there but am glad that the first reports about Col. Shaw are not true. I have not seen any list of the killed and wounded but I understand that the 54th did its duty. I hope that we shall be allowed to do some fighting before that city. One of the Captains said: "I should be willing to endure any amount of suffering and fatigue in a campaign before Charles-

[1] The fall of Charleston took place about two years after this and I was out of the service when it happened. But youth is very hopeful! — C. P. B.

ton," and I think that this reflects the feelings of us all. I suppose that we shall have some digging before us, but that is a matter of course. . . . We have got hospital tents for all emergencies, but from what Capt. Drayton said, I don't know that we shall need them.

5.45. P.M. We have just arrived off Charleston. The *Ironsides* and four or five Monitors are in sight. There has been firing round Fort Sumter, though the Fort itself has not spoken yet. There are a large number of vessels here and the shores look pretty well covered with tents. We have heard that Fort Wagner is not taken. I suppose that we shall have some chance of a dash at it. As we passed along we could look clear up to the city and see the church spires and large buildings looming up in the distance. We are really near the hotbed of secession and a confounded hotbed it will be for us if the sun comes down as it is doing to-day. I have just had my hair cut to the army length and it is quite becoming or not, just as one fancies. I rather fancy not. . . .

CAMP SEYMOUR, FOLLY ISLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA.
Aug. 5th, 1863.

DEAR MOTHER, — I am using the regular infantry desk (namely a drum) to write upon. My last letter left me on board the steamer *Maple Leaf*, which steamer by the way was the most abominably managed concern I ever saw. The morning before we landed the cook, mate and Captain had a fight, which ended by the cook's being put in irons and all breakfast being kept out of our stomachs except what we got for ourselves in shape of hard-tack and coffee. However it did not trouble us much, though all the officers from the Senior Captain downwards were very indignant with the way in which the Captain of the steamer treated us. The opinion of most was that he didn't care to trouble himself much about the officers of a negro regiment. Well, on Monday, somewhere about noon, we landed at Pawnee Landing on Folly Island and marched up the beach nearly to the creek which separates Folly and Morris islands. We pitched our camp right on the beach. Most of the men had their shelter tents which they stuck up, while we officers bunked in the sand. The way the sand fleas and flies bite is a caution. However we came out alive in the morning, although the officer of the guard did very considerately wake me up about half past two to inform me that my company must be ready with the officers to start for fatigue duty at half past six A.M. So when half past six A.M. came

over we marched to Morris Island, some 400 men in all. You see we only had some four and a half companies, the halves of two companies being at the landing and the other four and a half being somewhere or other, heaven knows where. We got to Morris Island and Capt. Wales [1] and I were ordered to start up the beach with Capt. Pratt [2] who had charge of the expedition. We trudged up some two miles on a good sand beach and then struck off and walked through some of the most tiresome sand I ever came across, until we reached a place some three quarters of a mile from Fort Wagner. We were set to work to fill sand-bags and a mighty easy work we had of it. It took each man about two hours to do his stent, which was to fill twenty-five bags, and after that each man filled five more for love. In all we filled some 3000 or 4000 bags. One part of Capt. Wales's company was set to work building a bridge in full sight of rebel batteries, but the rebs did not trouble them much, except that they threw three shells about half way between where we were at work and the bridge. It was the first time I had ever heard the whizz of a shell coming toward me. I heard it when it first left the gun and then lost the sound, but caught it again as it came nearer when it sounded just as I should have supposed a solid shot would have sounded if sent through water. The bursting and the whizzing of the shell made some of the men rather timid. One man was so overcome that he fell back into a puddle and came out a most filthy spectacle. The men got through their work in about a quarter of the time allotted to them and loafed and caught crabs the rest of it. We got back to camp again about eight or nine and slept soundly. So much for our first fatigue expedition. The sand-bags which we filled are to construct a battery of one 300[200]-pounder gun with which to attack Fort Sumter. They intend to construct the whole thing by night, I believe. The battery is to be built on a platform right in the middle of a swamp. It is an experiment, but it is hoped that it will surprise the rebs if it does nothing more. The whole battery is to be only about fifty feet square. It is feared that the battery may be knocked to pieces by an enfilading fire from Fort Johnston. But we shall see what we shall see.

There was some sort of a muss on James Island this morning, but we have heard no particulars. By-the-way, they hope to be able to send a shell into the city of Charleston with this one-gun battery, at least if the battery does not get knocked to pieces or

[1] Sigourney Wales, 55th Mass. Volunteers.
[2] Wheelock Pratt, 55th Mass. Volunteers.

does not sink in the swamp. There is some shelling going on now in the direction of Fort Wagner, coming I think from the fleet. What a terrible slaughter that was at Fort Wagner. Col. Shaw[1] died nobly. He was the first man on the parapet — the 54th leading the charge. Col. Hallowell told me that the 54th stood its ground, when two white regiments broke. The Colonel's brother[2] must be terribly wounded. Hurrah for the negro troops. To-day we changed camp and occupied the camp just deserted by the 47th New York, Col. Moore,[3] with whom Henry had some fuss when he was down at Edisto Island. My men found a tent in good order, two spades and various conveniences in the old camp, which will come into play nicely.

7 P.M. We have just had quite a little quiet excitement. We heard firing going on and saw the shot falling in the sea, and looking out, we saw a boat's crew making for a steamer loaded with troops which was lying off shore. The shot fell round the boat, but she kept on her way. Then a tug with three launches started after her, but when the boat with its crew reached the steamer, the firing ceased and the tug turned back. Altogether very mysterious. I don't know how long we are to be here, but I guess some time, for wall tents have been drawn for the officers and A tents for the men. . . . As yet I have heard nothing from home since I left. Some cans of meat would not be amiss and a good knife would be acceptable.

Aug. 6th. The firing last night was by our men trying some guns on a point near by. Rather unpleasant however for the men in the boat. I have got a man from the company to cook for me, the boys not being very deep in the mysteries of cooking. He is a very good fellow and takes an interest in having things clean and nice. He puts up our tents and is altogether very intelligent. I shall send my boy home on the first opportunity I get. He is not the sort of man for the field. We have not heard anything more of the four other companies. The Colonel is very anxious about them. They are Cos. D, G, I and K and fifty men from E. I hope they did not get blown out to sea. We have fine bathing here. The water is delightful and warm. I go in regularly, morning and evening. The beach is a smooth sand, though now and then you come across a lot of oysters which stick straight up from the sand and cut your feet rather badly, of the which I had a very unpleasant experience. The fleet lies in full

[1] Robert Gould Shaw, 54th Mass. (colored) Infantry.
[2] Norwood P. Hallowell.
[3] Henry Moore.

sight from here with the great frigates *Wabash* and *Ironsides*. If numbers were all that is needed in the way of vessels for the capture of Charleston, we should have it. Troops have been coming into this Department pretty steadily, I believe, and I imagine there will be a bombardment in a short time.

Aug. 7th. Last night all the companies except A were sent out on fatigue duty. Details were made from A to fill up the other companies, but the officers did not go. Part of the men were employed in hauling up big guns before Fort Wagner, or as it is sometimes called Battery Wagner. They were shelled from the fort and behaved very well, though the shells never burst very close at hand. . . . You can form no idea how thick the flies are. . . . The little sand flies with white mugs and black heads are about as enthusiastic insects in the way of biting as they make down here. . . . The water is perfectly horrible, being impregnated with sulphur and other southern elements. However I make it answer the purposes of a pleasant drink and of a medicine; for, by mixing it with molasses, the unpleasant taste is removed and you have the satisfaction of reflecting that you only need some cream of tartar to make a very excellent medicine. Gen. Wilde and Col. Hallowell have gone off in search of the other four companies which have not yet appeared. The Colonel felt quite anxious about them. . . .

Aug. 8th. The Colonel has returned and as he appears to be looking out for ground for other tents, I imagine he has found the four companies. Yesterday we heard of them as being out of water and the men being limited to a pint a day. I am afraid that they have suffered pretty badly. Service changes one's ideas about a good many things. For instance I used to think that to enjoy a good sea-bath two dry clean towels were necessary. I now find that one dirty one is sufficient, though a sticky feeling is very evident after the operation of wiping. I never saw such fine sea bathing. The other day we went in when the surf was perfectly glorious. The waves broke way out from shore and crashed down over us in the most refreshing way. The Colonel has told me that he found our men after a long search. They had not suffered at all, but had had a pretty comfortable time. The North Carolina troops had suffered considerably. . . .

Aug. 9th. Here it is Sunday again. . . . We have got a going now pretty well in our cooking. We left all our cooking utensils behind at Newbern and so, when we first came, we were very short indeed. This morning however we had fried oysters, fresh fish

and warm bread. I have just been ordered to take 100 men over to Morris Island for fatigue duty at twelve o'clock. . . . The men stand the climate pretty well, though I have got five men in the hospital already. One or two of the officers have given in or rather given out. Lieut. Wood,[1] formerly of the 13th, has been unwell for four or five days and Lieut. Boynton [2] is not up to the mark. It will take us some time to get perfectly acclimated. The firing last night was very heavy in the direction of Sumter. . . .

Aug. 10th. Yesterday I took my 100 men and started for Morris Island. I reported to Col. Serrell [3] of the Engineers, who told me that there would be some logs come across the river, and some battery horses and trucks to take the logs, and a Lieutenant of Engineers to show us how to load them. The Lieutenant was the only article to make its appearance. From half past twelve to six P.M. we got four logs going up to the front, while if every thing had been as prompt as we were, we could have had the whole fifteen up in half that time. However we did as well as we could and got half a dozen more loaded before we stopped. At about half past nine or ten P.M. we started for camp, but we had to wait at the wharf until we sent a small boat to inform the Captain of the ferry boat to come over in double-quick time to take us off. On going over no transportation was furnished us, and I had to get three small boats to take us across. The joints in this part of the Department don't seem to fit entirely and exquisitely together. However little things of this sort are of no account as long as the great plans of the war go ahead all right. But I should think that the greater operations must depend in a great measure upon the slight and small operations. No matter though, we are bound to go to Charleston some time or other. There is a rumor that we are to be kept only till after the battle of Charleston and I think that there is some foundation for it. Gen. Wilde was to have raised a full Brigade in North Carolina, and I believe it was the intention to garrison the whole state with colored troops in the end. This object is of course entirely defeated by the present movement and a return to North Carolina would not take me by surprise at any time after the capture or evacuation of Charleston. I wish that the 54th could be brigaded with us. Yesterday evening after the logs had been hauled up the Lieutenant of Engineers sent his men home and I went to find Col. Serrell or Major Butt [4] to report and receive in-

[1] Ephraim A. Wood.
[2] Winthrop Perkins Boynton (1842–1864).
[3] Edward Wellman Serrell.
[4] Richard Butt.

structions about my men. I could find neither and went into the Adjutant's tent and had quite a talk with him. He gave me some claret and was very polite. He said that the officers of the engineers were very much pleased with the way the men of the 55th and 54th worked, but that the troops raised in South Carolina were not worth anything. Our men do take hold nicely and go through with their fatigue duties well. They keep up their spirits amazingly well, especially with the mistake (if nothing worse) that has been made about the pay. The Government refuse to pay more than ten dollars a month when thirteen had been promised them. It is a pity that such an error should occur for the negroes can only see the mistake as an intentional one. I heard this morning from Lieut. Garrison [1] that there was a talk of Henry's coming down as Major of the 54th. Is it true? If it is, I should like to get a position in the 54th, though I suppose that it would be very difficult to do so. At any rate I hope that the two regiments will be brigaded together, for in this way we should be able to see a good deal of each other. Yesterday and to-day have been perfectly awfully hot. If it were not for the sea breeze which is deliciously cool, we should be exceedingly uncomfortable. This breeze gets up in its strength about three or four o'clock and after that the weather is comfortable. . . . The other day on Morris Island I met Frank Higginson with a party on fatigue duty, like myself. We had quite a little home chat. Give my love to all.

Folly Island, Aug. 12th, 1863.

Dear Charlotte, — Martial law prevents me writing with ink. . . . Things are going on very quietly here in this camp. Details of men are made nearly every day for fatigue duty on Morris Island. They are erecting batteries on that island continually. Night before last the rebs opened on our trenches from all sides. Our parallels are now within 300 yards of Battery Wagner and so the rebels thought it as well to try to put a stop to our working on them. Wagner opened with canister and grape, while Sumter and Fort Johnston and Battery Gregg put in a few licks. Very little damage was done however. The firing was very heavy and kept up all night. The same night we were waked up by musket shots and found, after being routed out of a sound sleep that one of the sentries had shot off his piece by accident. We had just got to sleep after this row when we were again waked up about half past one or two A.M. to draw rations for the next day

[1] George T. Garrison.

and have them cooked. The Colonel and all of us thought that we should be sent to the front to work on the trenches. So early in the morning the Colonel took details from A, B, E and H to the other island and marched some two miles up the island through heavy dry sand. We went up through the middle of the island where we had no sea breeze and the sun was " onkimmon " hot.

Well, we got up there and after waiting a while Maj. Butt of the Engineers rode up and dividing us into details, sent a lot of the men two miles right back to the landing which we had just left. I was ordered to remain with fifty men where I was until Sergeant Hopkins of the Engineers should come up there. So I waited for an hour more when a man came up with an order for me to report to Capt. Cruso at the landing where we started from. So down we posted and reported to Capt. Cruso,[1] who said he had nothing for me to do and that I must wait until there was something for me. So I let my men squat down and get in the shade of an awning and waited for something to turn up. This something soon came in an order from Major Butt to take my men with a reserve which was with Capt. Goodwin back to camp. Back to camp we went where we arrived at ten or eleven A.M. Just think what a shiftless arrangement to make us get up at two, wake up the cooks, build fires, cook rations, march four miles in the hot sun and deep sand, just for the pleasure of returning to camp without accomplishing anything. . . . Last night the 300[200]-pounder gun was slung on trucks and carried up to the front. When it arrived near its destination the axle broke and the gun got stuck. However it will not occasion much delay, I think. Ball, the man I detailed for cook, is a perpetual source of amusement to us. At the least thing he goes off into a perfect guffaw of laughter. He snickers out without the least reason at all. . . . He is a member of the church and calls himself a Hard-shell Baptist. He can cook oysters or conduct a prayer meeting. He is going to have one this evening, I believe. . . . Night before last I went in bathing after dark and it was perfectly beautiful to see the phosphorescence. We went out up to our necks and then swept our hands to and fro two or three feet below the water and they seemed all aglow with silver light, while if you moved them nearer the top of the water, they were covered all over with separate spangles. It was perfectly splendid. The great charm of this place is the nice cool breeze we have in the afternoon and the freedom from insects which we enjoy at night. . . . We can sleep all night without any mosquito nets at all.

[1] Frederick H. Cruso.

P. S. The meaning of my first sentence is that the officers are not allowed to go over to Morris Island except with a pass which can never be obtained, and so we can not get any pens and ink.

DEAR PATER, — Nothing of importance stirring. . . . The *Ironsides* has been firing one or two shots this morning and occasionally a mortar-boat endeavors to drop a shell within Sumter or Wagner. No concentrated attack has as yet taken place however. We are expecting it every day. Capt. Wales has got a lookout in a tree behind the camp, from which we shall be able to have a fine view of the bombardment, unless indeed we are sent up to support a battery during the attack. Some of the officers think that we are here simply as a fatigue party, and that we shall remain here to guard the island. It is very hard on us if this is true, for we ought to have a chance to distinguish ourselves as well as the 54th, though it was done there with such a fearful loss of life. Looking over beyond Sumter you see Sullivan Island with the Moultrie house upon it. Charleston is concealed from sight, but a heavy smoke was seen right over it this morning. Whether anything was the row there it is impossible to say. The other day some shot were fired at Fort Sumter which hit the fort beautifully and knocked the brick dust pretty high. I saw one strike on the inside of the further side of the fort. You can see the debris lying round on the outside of the fort now. After we take Wagner, I guess Sumter will crumble without much trouble. Our regiment has been roughed pretty well by the authorities here. When Gen. Wilde first came here, he reported immediately to Gen. Gilmore, overlooking entirely Gen. Vogdes,[1] who was in command of this part of the island. This naturally incensed the latter General, who now has us in his power. So he has been bothering the Adjutant with orders about morning reports and one thing and another, and has been calling on the regiment for large details which keep the men working very hard. For instance a part of my men have been obliged to do night work (which keeps them out from one afternoon till the next morning) three nights running, thus depriving them of sleep except such as they could get while resting. It seems rather a mean way to vent one's spite upon a man, by taking his revenge on those whom he commands. However I guess we can swallow all these doses if they will only give us a good slap at Charleston, and let us march through that city with our troops. . . . It is entirely uncertain how long we

[1] Israel Vogdes (d. 1889).

stay here. We are not stationed here for a permanency, I am pretty sure, for an application from Col. Hallowell to have our things sent to us from Newbern was refused. . . . One of my men died the other night of typhoid fever. He was not of my original company but was one of the contrabands belonging to the 2nd North Carolina with which I filled up my company on my departure from Newbern. Since then another man of one of the other companies has died of the same disease. I do not think that the disease will go farther, for though we are encamped on low swampy ground, yet it is a salt water swamp and the sea breezes keep us well, at least it does most of us. Col. Hallowell has not been well for a day or two. He is always going round looking out for the interests of the regiment and I fear tires himself out. I was glad to be able to supply him this morning with some white sugar which he needed. . . . I expect to have to go off to-night on fatigue duty, since I have not been off for some time and it is my turn. The only trouble about night duty is that it is pretty hard to keep awake all night. The negroes are kept at work digging trenches, hauling logs and cannon, loading ammunition, etc.

Aug. 17th, 1863. As I expected, I was sent off night before last on fatigue duty. We were sent to the marsh battery (Aug. 18th) I wrote you about in one of my former letters. We were set to work unloading sand bags and placing them on the fort where they were laid under the direction of the Engineers. The battery was about four feet high and we raised it about two feet more. To get to this battery we went up to the picket reserves, and then after dark we marched over a bridge (which had been built by the rebels) for some half a mile. This bridge was built over a swamp and very well done too, but the rebs, when we took Morris Island, thought it best to destroy it. It was all very well marching as far as the rebels had built it, but for some three quarters of a mile after that it was abominable. We had built very hastily, simply sticking up two pieces of joist and fastening another piece between them thus /—\ and then laying planks along from one of these combinations to the other. In some places they had laid two planks which formed quite a respectable walk, but for some 200 or 300 yards they had laid only a single plank. In going to the battery it was high tide, and this bridge for a good part of the way where we had built it was under water. You can imagine what an easy thing it was to walk on a single plank in a dark night, said plank being slimy and slippery and some three or four inches under water. However we reached the

battery and after doing our work marched back again. We reached camp about four A.M. on the 16th, [17?] which with what sleep I got during the night made a nap of about one and a half hours. I couldn't sleep much during the day and the next night I was started off again. We marched as usual up to the lookout and down again, as sort of a preparatory operation, pretty much as the man who ate a bushel of oysters to get up an appetite, or the little boy who ran a mile to get a good impetus to enable him to jump over a small brook. We then pulled up a 100-pounder gun to the front and pulled the 300-pounder from where it had stuck up to the battery where it is to be mounted to-night, in all probability. I was under fire for the first time on this night. The rebs had the battery pretty well in range and dropped their shells with very great accuracy. As we first got up to the fort, a piece hit within forty or fifty feet of me. Afterwards they burst round us and one passed directly over us and burst in the ground not more than 100 feet from us. If it had had its fuse cut shorter by one one-hundredth of an inch, we should certainly have had some casualties to report. One shell burst over us and one piece came down close on one side of our men and two or three more close on the other. It is very wonderful that none of us were hurt and only shows that it takes an amazing lot of iron to kill a man, for full twenty or thirty shells were thrown at us without doing any damage. We got back at five A.M. on the 17th.

On this (17th) morning the bombardment opened which has been kept up to-day, though not in an animated style. The *Ironsides* and monitors and one or two gunboats joined in the former, paying particular attention to Fort Wagner. She lay broadside to the fort and popped away with unerring precision with all her eight guns. The clouds of dust would rise up at each shot thirty feet in the air. I don't know how much damage it did however, since the soil here being merely sand, almost any amount of shell might be thrown into a fort without much injury, unless indeed they hit exactly in the same spot. In that case it would be pretty damaging. Sumter did not escape so easily however. Our guns gave her a terrible peppering. This morning I again went on fatigue, but had very little to do. I got up to within a mile and a half of Sumter and had a very fine view of her with my glass. You could see with your naked eye that her walls had been pretty hardly used, but with my glass I could see with great clearness how it looked. The poor old fort is pretty well shaken up and I suppose it is necessary to do so, and that

forts are like medicine which have to be well shaken before taken. . . . They keep us at work pretty steadily. I have been on fatigue duty about thirty hours out of the last seventy. I got back some hour and a half ago from my to-day's work which was to load the 200-pounder gun for the marsh battery and its carriage on a boat and to tote them half a mile. Just now the 3d United States Colored Regiment of Philadelphia passed by, and I saw a friend whom I had known in Cambridge, W. E. Furness [1] of the Class of '60, a nephew of the Reverend. They will not encamp on this island however. . . . I have just got my wall tent up which I am very glad of, since it will be a greater protection against the sand which is blowing like all creation. Love to Mother and the children.

FOLLY ISLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA,
Aug. 15th, 1863.

DEAR MOTHER, — It is as hot as the infernal regions in this region. We have no thermometers here, which keeps us cooler than if we had, for one never feels so uncomfortable as when he is *perfectly sure* that the thermometer stands at 100° in the shade. . . . I tell you it is rather jolly to get a mail. This is the first one except one letter from Uncle John James which I have had since we left home, a period of over four weeks. . . . You seem to be rather anxious in regard to my working in the middle of the day. Except when on fatigue duty, I take good care not to do anything more than is absolutely necessary and sometimes on fatigue I get along pretty easily. For instance yesterday a detail of 200 men was sent from our regiment to Morris Island and with them six officers — two Captains and four Lieutenants. The regular number would have been two Captains and two Lieutenants, but by a mistake of the Adjutant, two extra officers were added. Capt. Crane [2] therefore who had command of the detail, found that there were no men for himself and me to take care of and therefore we went up to the camp of the 54th and spent the day with the officers there. We were received very hospitably indeed and spent most of our time in Lieut. Howard's [3] tent. He had his quarters got up in fine style, principally stocked with the plunder obtained from Darien, Georgia, where they made a raid under Col. Montgomery.[4] He was in the attack on Fort

[1] William Eliot Furness (1839–1913).
[2] William Dwight Crane (1840–1864).
[3] Ocran H. Howard, Signal Officer, U. S. A.
[4] James Montgomery of the 2nd South Carolina (colored) Volunteers. The descent on Darien occurred June 11, 1863. I *Official Records*, XIV. 317.

Wagner and came out unharmed. His Captain was killed. We staid in his tent till it was time to go home, partaking of his lemonade and dinner and in the course of the afternoon making an expedition to the next camp (that of the Volunteer Engineers) where we bought a large supply of matches and quite an amount of reading matter. . . . So you see I am not always worked hard even on fatigue duty. . . . On coming back to camp yesterday I found that our men had all been armed with forty rounds of cartridges in expectation, or rather in defense of an attack which was to have come off last night. But for some reason or other, whether from delay of the train or the heat of the weather the rebels were not prompt and the whole thing was given up. . . . Ball is at present absent on a fishing excursion. . . . Ball's fishing operations are rather remarkable. He generally starts out soon after breakfast, say at half past six or seven and stays away till eleven or twelve, and then comes back with one poor looking specimen of a roundhead, most roundheads being about half head and this particular roundhead being full three quarters head. The grin which envelops the face of Ball at all times calms down all unquiet feelings which might arise in my angry and heaving breast. It is amusing to see how Ball looks down on the other servants. He informed me the other day with great glee that the Colonel had tried five cooks in a week and had brought down the last of them to show him how Ball cooked. He really does cook very nicely except that in his griddle cakes there is rather a doughy look about the centre, and that the insides of his biscuits are of that consistency which would rejoice the heart of a boy in making balls out of potter's clay. He is a sort of a universal genius. He takes the part of the elder in his prayer meetings. He has got a lot of logs rolled up close to my tent for his congregation to sit upon and there regularly from seven to half past eight P.M. he holds his patriarchal assemblies. Though in reality I like to hear the men singing and praying, yet I must confess, an hour and a half of it every night within fifteen feet of me does now and then grow rather tedious. Last night they had a very full attendance and Ball was delighted. They had a convert, I believe, which is quite uncommon, or at least is not so common as it ought to be. (Glory! Ball has just returned from fishing and has got two fish, one of which is a roundhead.) . . . We have been peppering away at Fort Sumter for the last four or five days and the old concern is in a pretty tumble-down condition. One of the men of the R. I. Artillery, who is stationed in one of the batteries, says that with a glass you can see through

into the casements of the fort. He says that at one time when one of these 300-pounder shots struck her, a piece came out which was as large as a tent. These 300-pounders are awfully destructive. The discharge at times shakes this island though it is separated by a creek and is a mile distant. Lieut. Webb [1] of Salem is reported killed with three men of the 40th Massachusetts, but I don't know whether it is true or not, for we do not get out of the reach of camp rumors and deserters' lies even within a couple of miles of the scene of action. They have got (the rebels have) a battery which it is said with good guns would render our batteries almost untenable. Our troops call it Battery Cross-fire and it is about as its name indicates. It is directly on our flank and may give us some trouble, though when we open from our marsh battery I think the rebels will dry up. . . . Our 300-pounder is still popping away to-day. The rebel gunners in Fort and Battery Johnston are admirable shots. They throw their shell with very great precision, indeed sometimes uncomfortably so. I have not been to the front for some time and so have not been under fire, for as yet the rebels have not tried to throw their shot over to this island, though I have no doubt that they could if they wanted to. The firing this morning on Sumter has been very heavy, twenty-three shots having struck the fort in thirty minutes and twenty-eight in forty minutes. . . . I am expecting Henry down here soon. I thought that he might come in the *Arago*. His letter however filled his place partially, though I was sorry to hear that as late as Aug. 9th he was still in Virginia, without having received any official notice of his commission. By this time however I suppose he has got home and is preparing to leave for this Department. I heard over at the 54th camp that Henry was to be Lieutenant Colonel and Sidney Willard [2] Major, but do not know on what authority the statement rests. Major Hallowell has got his commission as Colonel of the 54th, so the Adjutant tells me. . . .[3]

[1] Augustine F. Webb. The report was true.

[2] Henry P. Bowditch was major in the 54th Mass. Volunteers from July 18, 1863, and became a captain in the 1st Cavalry. Sidney Willard (1830–1862) had been killed at Fredricksburg, in the previous December.

[3] The above letter was evidently written a short time before the beginning of my sickness with chronic diarrhœa, (I was taken sick, Thursday, August 25th,) which pulled me down badly, at the time, made it necessary for me to have a furlough about a month after this date, and was one of the principal reasons for my exchanging into the 5th Mass. Vol. Cavalry so that I might have a horse to ride, for walking was not easy in my weakened condition. This disease also finally caused me to ask for my discharge from the army in August, 1864. I tried to write bright letters

Folly (very appropriately named) Island,
Aug. 30th, 1863.

Dear Mother, — Now you need not go and get alarmed at my being unwell, for I'm not so confounded sick as I might be by a long chalk. . . . I am now taking a medicine with quinine in it. . . . I am very sorry to hear of Henry's refusal of the Majority of the 54th. . . . It is a great disappointment to me personally for I have been expecting him and looking forward to his coming by every steamer. However perhaps it is all for the best. The bombardment has been going on at intervals for the last week and two attacks have been made on an outwork off Wagner, the first of which comprising 1500 men in the assaulting party was unsuccessful, while the second consisting of the 24th Massachusetts and one of the Connecticut regiments was entirely successful. James Perkins [1] was killed.

Folly Island, So. Ca., Sept. 4th, 1863.

Dear Father, — I find that there is some chance of being able to send this letter to the North by Storrow Higginson,[2] one of my classmates. . . . He came over here a day or two ago and it was a great treat to see a face just from the North. We are having very hot and debilitating weather down here. . . . One of our officers has been sent to Beaufort which is a delightful place to recruit. Capt. Soule's [3] father has charge of plantations near there and has invited all the sick officers to come to his place if they are allowed. I believe there are some ladies there too — Miss Ware of Milton, I think. Charley Ware [4] and Folsom [5] of the class of '62 are with Mr. Soule. His offer I think is a very kind one. Another of our officers has gone to the Post Hospital some three miles down the beach and he hopes to be sent to Beaufort. As for me, the diarrhœa has nearly left me but it has also left me very weak indeed and I have got to go to work to regain my flesh, and I guess I shall be all right again in a few days.

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home at this time, both to keep up my own spirits and not to let the family suspect that I was not all right, but neither wished for result occurred. I have omitted from the letter most of my attempts at wit. — C. P. B.

[1] James A. Perkins of the 24th Mass.

[2] Samuel Storrow Higginson (1842–1907).

[3] Charles C. Soule.

[4] Charles Pickard Ware (1840–).

[5] Charles Follen Folsom (1842–1907).

Sept. 5th. Our batteries opened very heavily this morning upon Battery Wagner and are still popping away at her, though not with so great energy as before. . . . A vessel has got in here with ice. I hear that there are some fifty tons for the Massachusetts Regiments round here. I am afraid I shall have to call on you for money. I have supported the mess entirely since we left Readville with very trifling exception. . . . The Government already owe me over $400 but I don't know when I shall get paid. Your aff. son.

FOLLY ISLAND, So. Ca., Sept. 7th, 1863.

DEAR MOTHER, — Fort Wagner is ours, and, as I am trustworthily informed, Fort Gregg likewise. . . . We dug up into the fort itself and found it deserted, some (I don't know how many) large guns remaining behind in our hands. I myself have some doubts about Fort Gregg, but Capt. Nutt [1] says that we now have possession of Morris Island without any exception. . . . This morning Fort Johnston was firing shell into Fort Wagner. . . . Now the navy ought to reduce Fort Moultrie and Battery Bee on Sullivan's Island and we should have the beginning of the harbor. The obstructions can not be very great, at any rate at the very entrance, for blockade runners have got by our vessels and into the harbor without any very great trouble even in the darkest nights. To be sure, they must have very skilful pilots and signal lights to show them the way, but it seems as if we could manage to get by without any tremendous trouble. There is no doubt that great dissatisfaction exists at the inactivity of the navy, at least among those who have not access to mysterious information at headquarters. . . . What the army is to do is a mere matter of conjecture. Possibly we may go to James Island and dig out those batteries or go over to Sullivan's Island and tackle them. At any rate there is no doubt that if we stay here in this department, we shall have an awful amount of fatigue work and very little soldiering to do. They say that Gen. Wilde is doing his very best to get us back to Newbern, but whether this is the truth or mere camp rumor I will not risk the Bowditch reputation to decide. The way the two kinds of soldiers affiliate is very astonishing and gratifying. The following colloquy took place just now within hearing. Enter white soldier and to colored soldier loquitur, "Sutler's shop up here?" "Yes," (and as if in return for the information) "Got any terbacker about yer?" White soldier draws out a plug from which colored do takes a chew and returns the plug. If this is not living pretty close

[1] William Nutt.

I should like to know what is. It is agreed that in fatigue work the negroes excel and as far as I have seen they do not dodge the shot and shell more than their white comrades, at least after getting used to them. The 54th is now brigaded with the 3d U. S. Colored from Pennsylvania, having been removed from the Brigade of Gen. Stevenson. To-day a marvel appeared in camp in the shape of a white woman. I suppose she is a nurse in some hospital. At any rate she was clothed in some sort of sister of charity style, with a white linen bonnet. It was really luxurious to see her, and I took a second look at her. . . . I am somewhat thinner than I was but feel quite strong again. I have still a little touch of the diarrhœa. . . . The sea breeze is fine for getting well and a sea bath (the second I have taken since I had the diarrhœa), was very refreshing this morning. . . . I have just received a visit from Mr. Scudder who came down here in charge of things sent by the Sanitary Commission. . . . Mr. Scudder gave me two letters, one from Father and one from Aunt Olivia, both dated Aug 18th. . . . I was very glad to find that upon an extraordinary occasion Father has been known to fill more than one page of note-paper with that handwriting which received its first developments under the kindly and motherly care of Miss Hittie. . . . Mr. Scudder was very pleasant and of course was doubly welcome as a Boston man and acquaintance of Uncle Henry's family, and as a carrier of letters and the promiser of a book soon to come. He informs me that he talked with men on Morris Island who have been in both Forts Gregg and Wagner. So there's no doubt about it, we have possession of Morris Island entire. . . . Mr. Scudder says that he was informed that the dead bodies of our men killed in the assault on Wagner in July were buried on the point in front of Gregg, and that our shells ploughing in tore up the bodies and made such an awful stench that it will be impossible to live there in its present condition. . . . Within the last week mosquitoes have become very troublesome and are now very thick in the evening. They are little but they *can* bite. This evening the monitors seem to be going up by Sullivan's Island, while the *Ironsides* has come to anchor off that island and a terrific bombardment is going on. . . . I believe I mentioned in my short note to Father that I had a rebel pike. The article consists of an iron point, is about a foot long and the socket and iron sides measure some two feet or perhaps a foot and a half, making the whole iron between two and a half and three feet long. Into the socket is set a hard wood pole fully seven feet long, so that the whole is a vile murderous weapon of

about eight feet in length. These pikes were found stuck up in a slanting direction in the trenches of Fort Wagner, so as to catch the unlucky assaulters upon their points when they tried to pass the trenches. The manner in which the fort was taken of course rendered these delectable articles useless. Sept. 8th. There has been a very heavy cannonading during this forenoon and in the morning two or three heavy explosions took place which were caused, so Dame Rumour says, by the explosion of the magazine of Fort Moultrie. . . . There is at present a very heavy fire raging in Moultrieville and Lieut. Thurber [1] says that with a glass you can see the flames break out of the houses. . . . I have just received my box of goodies, or rather what was left of them. . . . I found that the box had been opened and a good portion of the contents abstracted. . . . The men who did this belonged to a N. Y. or Pennsylvania regiment. . . . I enclose the song "The year of Jubilo," which the children may like. It is a great favorite of the negroes. I can imagine Father's dismay at opening this letter and putting it down again, or perhaps diving in a page or two, and then giving up in despair and turning to Henry's clear and matter of fact statements of events and things with relief. I am afraid that in the paternal estimation my letters and Cousin Caddy's occupy pretty near the same pigeonhole. . . . I have been reading Charles G. Loring's letters on the *Neutral relations between the United States and England.* I never read a series of articles more clearly and ably written. To-day we had a dress parade for the third or fourth time since our arrival here. What with the sick men, those on guard and those on fatigue, I could only turn out twenty-five men out of eighty-six, and most of the companies were filled in about the same proportion. The order was read in regard to retaliation, if the rebs misbehaved themselves in the way of butchering the privates or hanging the officers of the negro regiments when they have taken or may chance to take prisoners. . . . How do people at the North bear this continual delay down here? With us there is great grumbling and great dissatisfaction at the inactivity of the Navy, from which branch more efficient aid was expected. They, or rather we, are repairing Fort Wagner and Capt. Pratt of this regiment has entire control over the work. He was previously a Sergeant in the Engineers and so has had some experience in the business and knows what he is about. The Chief Engineer is his old Captain in the Engineers and so he will get along very nicely. It is quite an honor, I think, to the regiment,

[1] James Danforth Thurber (1839–).

to have this work given to a Captain of our Regiment. Give my love to all the family and all inquiring friends.

FOLLY ISLAND, S. C., Sept. 15th, 1863.

DEAR FATHER, — Since the taking of Wagner and the first shelling of the batteries on Sullivan's Island, there has been hardly anything done. . . . Capt. Pratt of Co. C of this regiment is still detailed for engineering purposes and is now engaged on the reconstruction of Fort Wagner. . . . The North ought to wake up and fill up Meade's army with real volunteers and not conscripts who desert whenever they get a chance. Lieut. Thurber had a letter from a fellow in the 13th regiment who says that the conscripts who have been sent to that regiment are the meanest set of men he ever saw; that the guard house is always full, and that there are always a large number of barrels occupied with men standing on them. New Jersey after all is the banner state, for she has supplied her quota with volunteers when drafting has had to be resorted to in all the other states. Night before last we had a tremendous blow and some rain. The sand flew like wild fire and covered everything. It came into the tent in such heaps that the only thing I could do was to pull the blanket over my head and stifle as comfortably as possible. In the morning my pantaloons which I had used as a pillow were perfectly covered with sand while my hair was filled with the same delightful material. . . . The men are now in very tolerable health and for some two or three weeks I have not had a man in the hospital. . . . One of my men, John Tilman [1] by name, who had been left in charge of the sick at Readville arrived here yesterday as did Dr. Babbit,[2] our new assistant surgeon. . . . I am happy to see by the paper that Martha Parsons has got home. She was quite sick when I saw her at Newbern. I regarded it as quite an honor to see her, for she was not well enough to get out of bed. The fresh air of the North and home care will soon set her up. Give my best love to Mother and the children.

Appendix. I suppose pay-day will come some time or other but I have no real or abiding hope of receiving any pay before the 1st January, 1864, i.e., until after Congress meets and passes a bill for paying the negro soldiers the regular $13 a month which is paid to all the other troops. If they do put off paying us till then, I shall have a little bill of over $900 against Uncle Sam. Sept. 16th. It seems to be the general impression on Morris

[1] John Tilghman.

[2] Warren M. Babbitt, of Braintree.

Island that we are going to fortify that island, so that a small body of troops can hold it, and then strike a blow at some other point. Our fatigue parties for a few days past have been constructing defensive batteries in various places. One is at a place where there are the remains of an old light-house. . . . Another battery which they say is to be armed with four 100-pound Columbiads is building so as to command the Folly river, and another still on Black or Block island. The rebels shelled our men who were at work yesterday on this last battery, or rather they cannonaded them with empty shell. . . . Heretofore once or twice the details for fatigue work have been ordered to lay out camps, pitch tents, dig wells, etc., for white regiments who have lain idle until the work was finished for them. Gen. Wilde, hearing of this, sent an order to Col. Hallowell, saying it was a grievance and requesting him to instruct the officers of the details to disregard such orders in future on his (Gen. Wilde's) authority. This is a very good idea, for if they want to keep up the self-respect and discipline of the negroes they must be careful not to try to make them perform the work of menials for men who are as able to do the work themselves as the blacks. I must say that while the agreement and harmony amongst the white and black privates are almost perfect, yet among the officers of white regiments the officers of the blacks are looked down upon. I have not met any myself who have not treated me in a perfectly gentlemanly way, and if they tried to do otherwise I am afraid I should resent it. But Capt. Pratt, who had charge of rebuilding Wagner but now is engaged on building a new fort between Wagner and Gregg, says that the way he is treated by the engineers under him is shameful. They obey, but at the same time do it sullenly, not liking to be placed under the command of a captain of a negro regiment. I understand that it has discouraged some of our officers, one of whom said that he had rather be a sergeant in his old regiment than where he is. This is a mighty poor sort of feeling and for my own part I think it would be better for the regiment if he were in his old place. . . . It is astonishing to find how well one can get along without money. I really think that I have had more luxuries since I have been short of funds than I ever did before. Yesterday with a portion of my funds I bought a bottle of blackberry syrup, and to-day I got a bottle of sherry from the Quartermaster, and the Colonel sent me a bottle of brandy. With these to help me I think I may be able to resist successfully all the insidious attacks of the water, filled as it is with sulphuretted hydrogen and any amount more

of -ides and -ines, etc. . . . Mr. Scudder came in to-day to bid me good-bye. He is going from here to Beaufort and from there home, though not in the next steamer, so I shall not send this letter by him. His visit, I should judge, has been a very pleasant one to him and has certainly been so to us, to whom a home face is always a pleasant sight. . . .

Folly Island, S. C., Sept. 17th, 1863.

Dear Lilly, — Last night it rained and blew so hard that I thought our tent would go over every minute. My bed shook very much and the tent quivered in a most unpleasant way. And to crown it all about one o'clock an order was received from Gen. Wilde directing us to have the men under arms at four A.M. in fear of an attack. Before the order could be sent round to the different companies, however, there was a firing heard out in front of our camp which brought us all out of our beds at about five minutes past one. We formed a line on the sea beach and remained here waiting for orders until quarter past two, the rain at times coming down in torrents. The men got pretty well drenched and I, in spite of my poncho, got somewhat moist. At last finding that there was no cause for alarm we went to bed about half past two A.M. The cause of the row was that Col. Beecher[1] of the 1st N. Ca. Col'd. Volunteers as soon as he received his order to be in line at four A.M., immediately sent his camp guard to act as pickets and these stupid fellows got a firing and so routed us out of our beds for nothing. At four A.M. we again turned out the men and they had to stand till five in the most drenching rain and then to cap the climax about one-third or one-fourth of them were sent on fatigue duty to Morris Island. The wind blew so hard this morning that it keeled over the large hospital tent.

. . . Thank Lucy for the Roster of the Massachusetts Regiments. It is just what I wanted to see. It is not exactly a roster however, since the officers are not placed in the order in which they rank, but in that of the letters of their companies. For instance my name appears 1st among the Captains while I really am 8th or 9th in rank. Give my love to Father and Mother, your sisters and brother and my aunts and uncle (including my prospective one, Mr. K.)

[1] James Chaplin Beecher (d. 1886).

Camp 55th Mass. Infty. FOLLY ISLAND, S. C.,
Sept. 19th, 1863.

DEAR MOTHER, — The fortifying on Morris and Black Islands is still going on with occasional firing by the rebels upon our fatigue parties, not much damage being occasioned however. Strange as it may appear no detail for fatigue duty has been made upon this regiment for two days. They say that the 3d Pennsylvania are being worked in their turn to take our place. I mentioned a few days ago that Gen. Wilde had issued an order forbidding the use of negro troops for digging wells and performing other menial duties for white troops. Yesterday a General order from Gen. Gillmore came out to the same purport. Although it is something like shutting the barn door after the horse is stolen, yet it is pleasant to see that Gen. Gillmore is disposed to see justice done to the colored troops in his command. Though we have no fatigue to do, the picket duty takes its place in some degree. Last night Capt. Soule went out on picket with 100 men to guard a line running along a creek with an almost impenetrable marsh on the other side, through which it would be a physical impossibility for any body of troops to make its way. However it was judged expedient to send out pickets, and so it was done. The men got back this morning, wet and covered with mud up to their waists, having been obliged to wade through a morass there and back and not having a very dry place to remain in all night. However they did not seem to be at all disheartened and came into camp in high spirits. After they had broken ranks they began singing and yelling in the most vociferous manner. Nothing but the very hardest fatigue work seems to take down their spirits. A lot of them often pretend to be secesh and, arming themselves with switches a couple of inches through at the large end and eight or ten feet long, take possession of some little eminence from which a party representing Unionists do their best to dislodge them, armed with similar weapons. They belabor each other most unmercifully, whaling their backs and heads with these sticks, till I should think they would be sore all over. . . . I had much rather take the chance of being hit in battle than run the risk of a broken head or smashed up arm in these play encounters. . . . This afternoon we had a battalion drill for the first time for six weeks, and after that a dress parade, whereat was read Gen. Gillmore's congratulatory order to his troops on the capture of Forts Gregg and Wagner. The men made a fine appearance and have not lost near so much of their drill, as I was afraid they would have

from the long time which they have been doing fatigue, without so much as giving a single thought to drill. . . . I see that you have news through the rebels of the capture of Forts Gregg and Wagner, and, strange to say, I learned first through these Northern Papers of the rebel loss in those forts and of the capture of a boat load of them as prisoners. . . . If any new books worth reading on interesting scientific subjects, or on the times, or perhaps of travel, come out in cheap editions I should be much obliged if father would send them on. . . . Talk about the great changes in our New England climate! It is nothing to what you have here. I had rather have the climate of New England than all your Fayals, Port Royals and Floridas in existence.

Sept. 20th. Now to-day is a fine instance of the change of climate. Last night it was so cold that I expected to find that there had been a frost when I got up this morning. I could hardly keep myself warm through the night with the aid of my rubber blanket. This morning up to noon was perfectly delicious. You could sit out in the sun or in the shade without feeling uncomfortably hot or cool. For two or three hours after, the sun was very unpleasantly hot and now, at half past three, it is becoming cool and we shall probably have as cool a night as last night was. So it goes on, and I think that I ought to be extremely grateful that the men of my company, though without overcoats, are so well as they are. Only six out of eighty-seven on the sick list, while Co. F. has fifteen. . . .

Folly Island, S. C., Sept. 23d, 1863.

Dear Father, — By the way it is now pretty well settled that we are to remain here for the present. Some month or six weeks ago Col. Hallowell made a request to be allowed to get our things left behind us at Newbern. This was refused by Gen. Wilde, in hopes that he could use the argument that we were without fit equipage as a means of having us sent North again. Finding that this did not work he has altered his programme on the second request, that our things might be sent on to us, and that Col. Hartwell [1] might go North to see about it, he gave the permission and sent on the papers to Gen. Gillmore, who graciously gave his consent. So you see after living two months (and with the prospect of a third) without any conveniences, we are at last to be allowed to receive our own. . . . They are now building a fort on the northern end of this island and Capt. Pratt,

[1] Alfred Stedman Hartwell (1836–1912), of the 55th Mass. (colored) Infantry.

who was over here to-day, says that in a week or ten days the fortifications will be complete and we shall be ready to evacuate the islands in that time, leaving of course enough troops to man the defenses. A large number of cavalry horses have come down here, as well as a goodly lot of empty transports, which looks as if we were not to have any reinforcements sent to us, but were going to have some new movement on our own hook. . . . To-day I took a stroll outside the lines and found two or three kinds of flowers. They are not very thick on this island or at least on this part of this island, which principally consists of salt marshes. Capt. Pratt has just been here again and has been giving me an interesting account of the doings at the front. He is still engaged on two small batteries between Gregg and Wagner which will be mounted with heavy ordnance. When the whole is finished there will be six 100-pounders and three 200-pounders on Gregg, Wagner and the batteries between. These will be used to pepper Sullivan's Island upon which, as Capt. Pratt thinks, we shall make an attempt next. He says that he lost lately a sergeant, corporal and five men of the Engineers from a shell from a columbiad on Sullivan's Island. The men had a very good protection behind a thick parapet, but the rebels had got the aim so correctly and cut the fuse of the shell so exactly, that the shot after ricochetting jumped over the parapet and striking the ground exploded throwing the pieces of the shell back against the men. Capt. Pratt also reports, on I don't know what authority, that Admiral Farragut is coming here to take command of the fleet. . . . Under Farragut we should be sure of having some excitement in that branch of the service. . . . The water here is wretched and there must be something taken to take away its bad effects or to drink in its stead. It is very full of vegetable matter and turns almost putrid, if permitted to stand a day or two. This, united with the HS, makes it bad for man or beast. . . . Give my best love to Charlotte and good wishes at her last year at school. What a queer thing it is that women have a certain definite age at which to finish their education while men are kept at it all their lives. . . . Capt. Gordon, who was left at the North on account of sickness, got here last evening. He looks in pretty good health though I think it doubtful whether he will be able to stand the water, climate, etc. . . . This makes our number of Captains complete, unless Capt. Pratt resigns or is permanently detached. . . . I see by the *Transcript* of the 15th that Fort Moultrie and a half of James Island are ours. This is glorious news, but we have not received it here. . . . I don't

know whether the white flag was ever displayed over Moultrie or not, but this is certain that the Confederate flag, being nearly white, might be easily mistaken for a flag of surrender. At any rate, Moultrie is not ours or, as one of the officers said, "It is ours, only Johnny Reb is keeping it for us." Love to all.

FOLLY ISLAND, S. C., Sept. 26th, 1863.

DEAR FATHER, — I wrote to you a day or two ago acknowledging the receipt of your check for $100. I have since found it impossible to cash it. No body has any money round here and as yet I have been unable to change it into the "ready." I should therefore feel very much obliged if you would send me on $100 in U. S. Currency. . . . This $10 row which exists in regard to paying the black troops is very unfortunate for the officers, who will not be paid before the men are. They say three paymasters went over yesterday to Morris Island to pay off the troops there, but we shall probably have to wait full three months longer. A day or two ago the Roster of this regiment came out and has caused a good deal of dissatisfaction and hard feeling. It runs as follows:

Captains	1st Lieut.
1. [Sigourney] Wales	[Wyllys] Gannett
2. [Charles C.] Soule	[James D.] Thurber
3. [William] Nutt	[William K.] Torrey
4. [Frank] Goodwin	[John O.] Mowry
5. [Charles E.] Grant	[Dennis H.] Jones
6. [John] Gordon	[Ephraim A.] Wood
7. [Charles P.] Bowditch	[Robertson] James
8. [William D.] Crane	[George M.] Woodward
9. [Robert J.] Hamilton	[Edward S.] Stimpson
10. [Wheelock] Pratt	[Harrison] Holt

2nd Lieut.

[Ezekiel] Fowler
[Leonard B.] Perry
[Winthrop P.] Boynton
[George T.] Garrison
[Nathaniel E.] Ladd
[Alphonso] Marsh
[Leonard C.] Alden
[Joseph T.] Nichols
[Thomas L.] Harmon
[William Dorrence] Messinger

A great many of the places are entirely unexpected. For instance Goodwin takes the 4th place, above Grant (5th), although

for a long time the former was the latter's First Lieutenant at Readville. This seems rather hard on Grant. In fact there does not appear to be any good reason why Goodwin should stand as high as he does. I stand two places higher than I expected. Goodwin was the only one I expected to rank, while he far outranks me and I outrank three others. Of these Capt. Crane ought to be above me and why he is not I cannot imagine. Capt. Nutt who has heretofore had the left flank (2nd place), now holds the third. He ought to have been first but was ousted on account of his not having received a superior education. He is undoubtedly the best officer of the regiment and has the best drilled company. Capt. Pratt who has heretofore held the first place now stands last, on account of his being detailed for engineer duty, besides doing his best to leave the regiment. Thurber you see is 2nd among the 1st Lieuts. Holt has got his discharge papers, which makes Fowler as good as 1st Lieut. I am perfectly satisfied with my own situation which, as I said before, is better than I expected. To-day there is a review before Gen. Wilde at half past twelve P.M. We are soon to be reviewed by Gen. Gillmore, who has removed his headquarters about four miles down this (Folly) Island. Some say that he does not care to have his headquarters in such a dangerous position as they would be in on Morris Island, when we begin to shell Charleston and the rebels in return begin to shell the island. The probability is that there is nothing more there which requires his particular attention. Gen. Gillmore has got on his two stars as Major-General, which I think he won pretty easily. I suppose we shall know soon what is to become of this reg't during the winter. We shall be washed away by the ocean if we try to stay in our present encampment. Love to all.

(Soon after this letter, I obtained sick leave and went North. I was pretty sick and had lost a great many pounds of flesh. Mine was one of the last sick-leaves which allowed officers to go North. Frank Higginson[1] was sent South to Florida, while poor Alden[2] died in hospital. He was the first scholar, I think, in his class and was very deaf and should not have been allowed to sacrifice his life, which might have been of use elsewhere, in the service, where he was not in his right place. I began to get better on the steamer, but getting well was a long matter, and I had my sick-leave extended, so that I did not try to rejoin the regiment till just before Thanksgiving, when I started South

[1] Francis Lee Higginson.
[2] Leonard Case Alden (1839–1863).

taking with me a lot of men of the 54th and 55th who had been left behind sick. — C. P. B.)

On board Steamer *Fulton*, off Hilton Head,
Dec. 3d, 1863.

Dear Mother, — We have arrived here at last after rather a tedious passage. We lay in New York harbor till Sunday morning waiting for 150 deserters, conscripts, etc., who did not come after all, owing I believe to the smallpox breaking out among them. We had to tow a vessel with cattle on board all the way down, but thanks to a favorable wind we were not retarded by her much. We had very rough weather a day or two, but I was not made sick thereby. My stateroom was right under the feet of a lot of beef cattle which we had on board, and so when the ship pitched and tossed, it was rather hard to go to sleep. My men have given me very little trouble indeed and are a very well behaved set, with one or two exceptions. I found when I got to New York that they had no coffee with them and I was obliged to buy a lot for them to the tune of ten or eleven dollars. So much for philanthropy as exemplified in carrying on a lot of recruits when you are not compelled to. However we shall reach Folly Island to-night I suppose and then my troubles will begin to be ended. I have spent most of my time on board in playing cards. High-Low-Jack, California Jack, Pitch, Whist, Cribbage, Euchre have constituted my principal games. I have got acquainted with a good many officers on board among whom are Col. Otis [1] of the 10th Conn., Adjutant Chatfield [2] of the 17th Conn., whom I went up with, and several signal officers, etc. Altogether I have had a very pleasant trip, though it has been very long. . . .

Folly Island, December 6th, 1863.

Dear Mother, — Here I am once again in the camp of the 55th Mass. I brought all my men on safe to Hilton Head, where I turned over twenty-four belonging to the 54th, to Dr. G. M. Pease,[3] Ass. Surgeon of the 54th, who went down on the *Fulton* with me. I took the remaining twenty and toted them up to camp here, where we arrived about noon on Friday. Col. Hartwell met me and asked me to dine with him. He is quite poorly, having taken a chill the other night when he went out without

[1] John L. Otis.
[2] H. Whitney Chatfield.
[3] Giles Moseley Pease (d. 1891).

his overcoat. I have taken him over several books of poems, the *Atlantic* and the *Rebelliad*.[1] He seemed rather low-spirited and, when I left him, he thanked me for coming to see him as he had been rather lonely. I brought all my men through safely, as I told you in my previous letter, not having lost a single one, though I was told, when I took charge of them, that I should in all probability lose two of them unless I kept them heavily ironed. I took two balls and chains with me, one of which mysteriously disappeared on the passage. It is probably now resting quietly at the bottom of the "dark and deep blue ocean." . . . I found the regiment encamped in a very pleasant spot about two miles from the South end of the island. There are fine large pine trees all around us which serve to keep off the cold and wind. The grounds are in rather a disordered state, but I shall get my part of the premises into good condition in a little while, at least if I am allowed to keep my company together. I found on my arrival that I was the Captain of a company of six well privates, two corporals and one sergeant. The rest had been sent off on details. Since I have been here twenty have come back so that the effective strength of Co. A is twenty-nine men. Of course it is impossible to arrive at any great perfection in company drill when the company is so scattered. It is the same with the whole regiment. Over a hundred are at Botany Bay, I believe, and over a hundred at Pawnee Landing, and a hundred at Long Island. My company has been divided more than almost any. There was quite a row about some of our men before I came here. Capt. Mordecai[2] of the Engineers one day had some twenty-five of our men to work for him and was so pleased with them that he made a requisition for the same men again. The same number was sent from the company, but not the same individuals, at which the gallant Captain was irate and a message was sent that we were to send the same individual men; but as in the mean time these men had been sent on some other detail, they could not be sent to Capt. Mordecai. At least he seemed to be easy, but to-day a lot of the men came up here to camp and the sergeant told me that Capt. Mordecai thought he could get along with six or eight men from Co. A, and that he was not going to rest till he got them. I shall do my best not to let him have them, but I am afraid that I shall not succeed. Although it tells well for the men as workmen, it is rather hard that this company should be allowed no chance for drill. The

[1] A poem by Augustus Peirce, first issued in 1842 and reprinted in 1863. It refers to an incident in Harvard College of 1819.

[2] Alfred Mordecai of Pennsylvania.

regiment as a whole is in a very good state of drill and discipline. The other day at Dress parade they brought their guns down at "Order Arms," as if it were but one great gun. Yesterday I set to work to get up another tent. It had to be set on the side of a hill and so I had to build up the lower side with logs and fill in with dirt. We cut down a tree and got two logs about three feet through and put one on top of the other and then threw in dirt and have so made a very substantial foundation.

FOLLY ISLAND, S. C., December 10th, 1863.

DEAR FATHER, — At last I have settled down to the good old dull slow camp life. Last Monday I was detailed as Commander of the Picket. . . . The first part of the day I remained with the reserve and my duties consisted in sitting down or going to sleep, except when some General or Officer of the Day came along and chose to disturb me by obliging me to turn out the Guard for him. At night I took the reserve out to the advanced posts and remained there till morning. To-day I am officer of the Day in name alone, but in reality the officer of police and have to see that the camp is in order. . . . To-morrow we are to have a division drill, a thing unheard of by the oldest inhabitant. Officers who have been in the Army of the Potomac say that they have never had a division drill in all their experience. Gen. Vogdes however is unique and does what nobody else would think of doing. So we shall march two miles up the beach to his headquarters and drill for an indefinite period and then march back again. This is one of Vogdes' little peculiarities. . . . Every thing is as quiet as possible here. The picket duty is almost useless, since there are two more lines of pickets between ours and the enemy. It is a very good plan however to teach the negroes the duties pertaining to picket. The other night one of my sentries fired his gun at a boat which refused to stop, but as it turned out to be a water boat from Long Island, I allowed it to proceed on its way unmolested except by a blowing up from me. . . .

FOLLY ISLAND, S. C., Dec. 15th, 1863.

DEAR FATHER, — Don't you think that it would be a good idea for me to try to get into the negro Cavalry Regiment which Governor Andrew has received permission to raise in Massachusetts? I should then get a horse and the objection which occurred to you when I thought of a Captaincy in the 1st Mass. Cavalry, that it would look like deserting the cause of the blacks,

would be entirely obviated. I think the negroes will make very good horsemen, though perhaps not graceful ones. They will be able to stick on a horse's back if they are not able to sit up straight. I wish Henry would apply for a Majority in the regiment and I could get a Captaincy. . . . Our Brigade now is under the command of Col. Beecher of the 1st N. Carolina, Col. Littlefield[1] having gone away on some business or other. Col. Littlefield was a very pleasant man indeed though not very much on his military. He knew how troops ought to be taken care of and looked out that this was done. Last evening Major Sturgis addressed some of the men and tried to explain to them that it was perfectly honorable and by all odds their best policy to accept the money offered by Massachusetts. The Sergeant-Major Trotter[1] spoke in reply, stating the position in which the men stood and what their opinion was on the subject, and the result was that the Major entirely agreed with the men's ideas. They then dispersed after giving three cheers for Massachusetts, three for Governor Andrew, three for Major Sturgis and three for Col. Hartwell. I think that it tells pretty well for the men that Major Sturgis came down here perfectly unprejudiced, or if prejudiced at all, against the men, and now perfectly agrees with them. He says that he came down here with an entire misconception of the whole subject. . . . Scarcely a week passes without a review, inspection or something of the sort. It is utterly useless to have an inspection of the men, when they are not allowed any time for cleaning themselves or their clothes. They are kept at work at dirty jobs and, of course, get their clothes filthy and then have to draw others, the cost of which comes out of their pay. In my estimation instead of giving a smaller amount of clothing to the negroes than to the white troops, they ought to give them more, at any rate if they are going to put them to such dirty work as they are doing. The new promotion of Capt. Wales to Major does not give universal satisfaction. In fact, I scarcely know of a line officer who does approve of it. I believe I told you that several of the officers were surprised at my not trying for it, and said it would have given much more satisfaction than the present arrangement. I have just seen Major Sturgis who tells me that the new regiment of cavalry is to be commanded by Henry Sturgis Russell, which is rather a come round, since he did not use to be quite right on the negro question. He also informs me that N. I. Bowditch of the Cavalry was slightly wounded. Of course it must be Henry

[1] Milton Smith Littlefield.

[1] James M. Trotter.

that is meant. I hope it will be slight enough for him to enjoy his Christmas. . . . They had quite a jolly time at Headquarters last night, singing and making a noise which would have been severely reprimanded if it had taken place in the quarters of a line officer. . . .

On picket near Pawnee river, Folly Island,
December 17th, /63

Dear Mother, — Here I am on picket, much to my own surprise and disgust, in one of the most charming rain storms imaginable. I was prudent enough to bring a shelter tent with me, which officers do not generally do on account of the short time (only twenty-four hours) that we are on picket duty, and so I manage to get along pretty comfortably with various small streams of water trickling through the tent. It was decided at one time to put no more Captains on picket duty, but there being so few 1st Lieuts. they had to come back on to Captains again and I was the victim. There is not the least chance of anything taking place out here, not even so much as before, since heretofore there were stray cattle round which the pickets now and then amused themselves firing at, but they have all been killed. There is a rumor round here that there is to be a movement from here, and that the Engineers have stopped all their other work and given their attention to machines for twisting rails. If the rumor is true the object of the movement is to destroy the Charleston and Savannah Railroad and prevent the return of troops which Beauregard has sent to Bragg. . . . The other evening I went to call on Adjutant Chatfield of the 17th Conn. whom I told you that I went North with and came back with. I saw him and had a very pleasant talk with him and the Colonel who is a very sociable man. He spoke in very high praise of the colored troops and considered it an outrage to treat them in any other way than white troops are treated. The officers lately promoted were mustered in yesterday and Thurber was assigned to Co. F. I am thus left alone in the company, Nichols being at Norfolk, Va., and there being no 1st Lieut. So when I am on picket, there is no one to command my company but the Orderly Sergeant, who luckily is fully able to take the responsibility. . . . My stove is a great success.[1] The only trouble is that it is a perfect little steam engine and heats up the tent in about three minutes. . . . My boy is, like my stove, a decided success. He cooks very well and makes excellent stews out of

[1] This stove was one of my own invention, made in two parts, so that the upper part could be inverted and fit into the lower part. — C. P. B.

fresh beef and onions. He is "right up" in making fish-balls, boiled salt fish, with melted butter, tea, coffee, etc. . . .

FOLLY ISLAND S. C.,
December 19th, 1863.

DEAR LUCY, — It is real cold, and my ears have really tingled as if a true New England Jack Frost had been playing round them. It is a jolly day nevertheless and just the kind you want for drilling. I just managed to keep warm with three thicknesses of thick blankets on top of me. . . . Tell Father that the lamb's tongues are jolly. The other day when I was on picket they were just the thing. Herman brought me out my dinner of them just at dusk, while I was visiting the outposts. You can imagine your brother going round on his picket line with a lamb's tongue in one hand and a biscuit in the other. We had an awful cold night on picket and were allowed no fires, although the line of pickets two miles or so nearer the enemy had fires blazing away in great style. The order allowing no fires originated from Gen. Vogdes, who is a regular tyrant. Col. Fox [1] was Field officer of the day and he is also very strict, so much so that he made me put out the candle which I had in my tent, because it made a little too much light. Luckily he did not come round till towards morning and so I had the benefit of it most of the night. Gen. Vogdes has just sent round a circular forbidding all officers from leaving the limits of their Brigade without a pass signed by the proper authorities, which means himself. He is one of these touchy little Dutchmen and is laughed at and hated by all the officers on the island high and low. Mr. Sturgis tells me that he has got a furlough for Frank Higginson of which I am very glad indeed. . . .

Camp of 55th Mass. Reg't
FOLLY ISLAND, S. C., Dec. 24th, 1863.

DEAR MOTHER, — This is the first Christmas Eve that I have ever passed away from home. . . . I am so glad to hear that Henry's wound is so slight and he will be able to enjoy his Christmas at home and much more from his having been away the last two years. I shall endeavor to have a good time to-morrow, since Geo. Lawrence,[2] who is Paymaster or something of the sort on board the *Pawnee* now lying off Stono Inlet, has asked me to dine with him and John Gray [3] of Gordon's Staff. I received a very pleasant note of invitation while I was on picket yesterday

[1] Charles Barnard Fox. [2] George Lawrence (1839–1884).
[3] John Chipman Gray, Jr. (1839–1915).

and have sent up a pass to be signed by Gen. Vogdes to permit me to accept it. I got it signed at Regimental and Brigade Headquarters, but I am afraid it will stick with Gen. Vogdes. It would be just like him to refuse to sign it. I am going to give my company a good dinner to-morrow, consisting of apple sauce and mince pie, soup and probably turkeys. To-day and to-morrow are given to the men — to-day to fix up the camp and to-morrow to enjoy themselves. My men have been decorating the company street by building little arches of boughs over the door of each tent, and a large arch flanked by two small ones at the bottom of the street. It has a very pretty effect looking down the whole length of the street. I spoke in my letter to Lilly about having a hundred pairs of mittens with the forefinger knit separate from the rest of the hand so that they can shoulder arms, for my company. They really need something of the sort. Last night out on picket it was awfully cold, indeed so cold that ice formed in the damp ground and the men got very much chilled standing guard. Luckily we had an easy man on as Brigade Officer of the Day and he allowed us to have fires on the posts. If it had not been for that we should have nearly frozen. A good many men, however, such as Col. Fox, would sooner cut their heads off than permit a fire on the outposts, though, as I told you, before, we are about four miles from the enemy and there are two lines of pickets outside ours. To-day Gen. Gordon and John Gray came and surveyed our Dress parade and I am happy to say that the men did themselves credit. They looked very well and went through the manual very nicely, though I suppose the General did not think we quite came to the 2nd Mass., his old regiment. By the way I wish you would ask Father who it is that sends me the *Army and Navy Journal*. One of them came to me with " Rogers " on the wrapper. . . . If it is Mr. Henry Rogers ask Father to thank him for me. . . . Is there any further news about this negro Cavalry regiment? I should like to know whether Henry intends to apply for a Majority in it. . . . Things are getting to a fine point down here. Col. Littlefield who was in command of our Brigade went to Washington in hopes of getting a star on his shoulder, and Col. Beecher of the 1st N. C. took command. Then he went down to Hilton Head and Col. Hartwell became Acting Brigadier. Then he went off on Gen. Gillmore's Christmas spree and Col. Fox became our Brigade Commander, leaving Major Wales in command of the camp. He left camp and Capt. Nutt had the regiment under his charge. I suppose in a short time I shall be Acting Major-General and take the command of the Department on my shoulders. . . .

FOLLY ISLAND, S. C., Dec. 30th, 1863.

DEAR MOTHER, — I never was so busy in all my life as I have been for the last two or three days. At the end of the year a tremendous lot of company business has to be settled up, including certain delightful blanks measuring two and one-half feet by one and one-half, which have to be filled up pretty solid with writing. There are four of these and as there is nobody besides myself in the company, I had to do them all myself. I timed myself while at work on one and found that it took me just two and one-half hours to finish one. Night before last I sat up all night literally, without even lying down, and finished up the confounded rolls. Last Sunday I thought I was going to have an easy time as Officer of the Day, but that day we had a review and as the Officers of the Day in this regiment are merely superintendants of police work and orderlies to the Colonel, I had my hands full in getting the parade ground cleaned up. Last night I went to bed early and I had just got to sleep when I was waked up with the announcement that Col. Fox wished to see me. I swore but went. To-morrow, being the last day of the month, we are to be mustered for pay on the above-mentioned rolls. The other day my Commissary Sergeant came to me and told me that some of the bread belonging to the company had been stolen from the cook-house, and in a little while Herman informed me that a lot of cans had disappeared from my tent, as well as the bread for our use and all our butter. This made me rather mad, especially as some of the lamb's tongues were among the missing articles. I spoke of it to the company and in the course of the day, my orderly came and informed me that a man of the name of Douglas had been seen about twelve o'clock coming from the direction of my tent and had given away apples of the same sort as those in the tent. I sent for the man and finally he acknowledged that he had taken five or six apples from the barrel, but denied having taken anything else. However I was quite sure that he was the thief and so I told him that I should let him stand guard over the tent, (not the one I sleep in, but my store house) and if the things were brought back in the night, I should say nothing about the matter, but if they were not, I should punish him, and if anything more was taken, I should hold him responsible. So when night came, I put him on guard over the tent, and in a couple of hours he laid down his arms and vamoused and has never been seen or heard of since. I think he rather had the better of me, but there is one comfort, that he cannot run very far before he is caught, unless he has gone over to the

rebels, which I do not regard as very likely. I was entirely surprised at finding him in such a scrape, since I had always looked upon him as a very honest faithful man, though perhaps rather slow. . . . I am very glad to hear that I am going to have a commission in the Cavalry with Henry. I spoke to Col. Hartwell in regard to leaving the 55th. He spoke very kindly indeed and said he was *very* sorry to have me go and that I could do a great deal of good by staying here, and in fact a great lot of nonsense and ended off by saying that he could not say anything against my going, especially as it was a promotion and he thought he should leave if he were in my place. He told Thurber afterwards that he had written a letter to Gov. Andrew in which he had said he thought I should do very well as Captain of Cavalry. I am glad he does not offer any opposition to it as a military act. On the contrary he said that if there was anything he could do for me he should be very glad to do so.

Folly Island, S. C., December 31st, 1863.

Dear Father, — I am sitting up like a fool to welcome the New Year in and give a parting salute to the old one. . . . Thurber and I tried sitting up with Capt. Soule in his tent, but it was so precious cold without any fire, that we gave it up, after having eaten up nearly all of Capt. Soule's figs, etc. So I have come in here to my own tent, built a fire in the stove, put on my slippers and am prepared to receive 1864. . . . To-day I had my company mustered for pay. . . . All my men were in the right place, except the man John Douglas, who disappeared so suddenly. It will be an awful bore if he comes back, for I shall have to prefer charges against him and have him court-martialled for desertion. I am gradually collecting all my company. Ten men came back to it this afternoon and I am in hopes of having fifteen more within a week. If I do there will be only the 1st Lieut. and eight men away, who are at Portsmouth Va. . . .

January 1st, 1864.

"Happy New Year."

I suppose that I can congratulate you as being now a gentleman of leisure.[1] No office cares disturb the serene quiet of your

[1] The allusion to Father's being at leisure was because he left the Presidency of the American Insurance Company at this date. He had been President of this company for many years — twenty-five or more. — C. P. B.

peaceful life. This evening a knock came at my tent and a hand was thrust in, holding a pan with some kind of mush inside of it. It turned out to be some very good apple-sauce, made out of dry apples which one of my men made for me as a New-year's present, I suppose. . . . I don't like to inquire where the apples came from, but receive the gift with thankfulness and no questions. Silence often is the greatest prudence. . . . Capt. Goodwin's company has been sent over to Long Island to garrison a fort at the South end of the island. He would be, in case of attack, in command of all the troops on the South end of the island, consisting of four or five detachments. If there is an attack made upon us, they will have the first of it. Capt. G. is much better than he was and really looks finely. I am very sorry to have him go away, for he and Thurber and I made a very pleasant mess together. With a Happy New Year to every one for me.

FOLLY ISLAND, S. C., Jan. 1st, 1864.

DEAR CHARLOTTE, — I have had the greatest time in building a fire to-day and have discovered an excellence in my stove which I did not know of before. . . . Truly and honestly the wind blew so hard that the flame actually spirted out into the tent through the damper full a foot. I had the pleasure this evening of seeing a Boston man, Mr. Joseph Kendal, formerly a Captain in the 44th Mass. He is down here for I don't know what and seems to be a loafer about town, or rather about the island. The other day a circular was sent round from Headquarters to the Commanders of Companies, ordering us to specify how many of various articles, such as the brass tips to bayonet sheaths, etc., were required to fit out the men of each company. It was impossible to tell how many were needed without an inspection and so the circular was returned with such remarks as "Can't tell," "Don't know," etc. upon it, instead of the numbers asked for. Nothing was said about it till that evening on Dress Parade when a General Order was issued calling the attention of officers to Par. 1 of the Army Regulations which reads as follows:

"All Inferiors are required to obey strictly and to execute with alacrity and good faith the lawful orders of the superiors appointed over them."

It was rather a reflection upon the commanders of companies, but I am not sure that we did not deserve it. In fact I think that we did. . . .

Folly Island, S. C., Jan. 3d, /64.

Dear Mother, — We have just got through with an inspection of quarters by the Field and Staff, at which the Colonel remarked that the appearance of my tents, street and cook-house was very satisfactory. For which remark I embraced him (mentally). . . . This morning a circular came round desiring commanders of companies to send immediately to Headquarters the number of shelter-tents necessary to fit out the companies. This looks something like a move, but as yet we have not any hard bread to move on. It is probably simply a preparation to start some time in 1865. . . . To-day we received the 1st General Order of the year from Department Headquarters, dated Jan'y 1st, 1864, ordering the execution of a man for desertion. Rather a sorry order to begin the year with. . . . The Colonel seems to be in a very pleasant mood to-day. At Dress Parade he said that he was very much pleased to see the pains that the officers had taken in cleaning up the camp and making the grounds look neat, and that although he should find fault with things which he wished changed, yet he wished nevertheless to express his gratification at our endeavors. All which of course was very well in its way. . . .

January 4th, 1864. I feel comparatively free this evening. 'I have had my rolls compared, filled up and sent off my monthly returns and have not got much company business on hand to attend to.[1] So I am pretty much at my ease.

Jan'y 5th, 1864. . . . That was a pretty good raid of Averill's was it not, and the ending of his report is worthy of Napoleon. He has vindicated his reputation and has done away with whatever slur has been cast upon it. I have just carried the Colonel some Boston papers. He seems rather forlorn, though in better spirits than he sometimes is. He has a good many things to bother him, and amongst others a man over him as Brigadier General who does not know half so much military and has not half the character as Col. Hartwell. Col. Beecher now in command of the Brigade is a very good-natured sort of a man when every thing goes right, but is not a very talented military man. As far as I have experience, I think that the position of a Major is about as high as I should care to go, for there you really do not have so much responsibility as a Captain in the way of arms,

[1] In the colored regiments, a great deal of work fell on the officers which in white regiments was performed by the non-commissioned officers — such as making out clothing and ordnance returns, rolls of all sorts, etc. — C. P. B.

clothing, etc., and it is moreover a very pleasant position. A colonel's position is a very harassing one, especially when there is trouble in the Adjutant's, Quartermaster's or Medical departments. I like Col. Hartwell the more, the more I see of him. If he does wrong he is very ready to acknowledge it, which is not the case with many officers, especially when in such a high position as a Colonel. I see in the *Transcript* of the 24th a long letter about our two regiments which is very flattering to us and gives perhaps the best and at any rate the most philosophical way of looking at the matter in regard to the great amount of work which the negroes have to do. With love to all.

On Picket on PAWNEE RIVER,
January 8th, 1864.

DEAR HENRY, — On picket, as you see, and such a way of picketing you never saw. The whole extent of our picket line is not over half a mile and the five posts could easily be relieved in half an hour.

January 9th, 1864. I wrote so far on picket yesterday, but my hands got so cold that I could scarcely scrawl, besides being pretty well disgusted with the Division Officer of the Day. Said officer came round and after asking me whether I did not have my men stack their arms, to which I replied in the negative, he told me that I should get into trouble if I had a fire on the reserve, but that he would say nothing about it and I had better take the hint. I felt like taking his hide off instead, but of course was obliged to obey orders. Just think of not allowing a reserve at the distance of three miles from the enemy to have a fire, especially when the day was raw and chilly as it was yesterday. I swore internally I can tell you. Pretty soon after the officer of the Day came back and ordered me to relieve one of my sergeants who had charge of one of the posts and send him into camp under arrest for having a few twigs lighted on his post, and he was going to put my Lieutenant under arrest as well, but I informed him that the Lieutenant had given the proper instructions and so was not responsible, at which he expressed himself gratified and went off bidding me good afternoon in the most magnificent style. . . . There are a great many stories told round here of our Division Commander, Israel Vogdes, Col. U. S. A., and Brig. Gen. of Volunteers. He is called Old Dog Days from the similarity of sound, and Old Four, from the fact of his initials I. V. standing for "four." He is a queer sort of man, very ready with his oaths and very strict in discipline, and has the most remark-

able voice you ever heard, squeaky and sharp as the voice of a weasel might be supposed to be. He is openly insulted by some regiments who yell at him when he enters their lines. He is a graduate of West Point and is probably as well-posted on all matters of military duty and etiquette as any man in the department. . . . An order has been issued from Washington ordering the detachment of our regiment under Lieut. Nichols to rejoin the regiment and he is expected to get here within a week. I shall not be so glad to see him as I shall to see my mess-chest which he has with him. . . . The return of our detachment from Norfolk effectually stops any hopes which we may have had of coming farther North. How about the Cavalry?

Folly Island, S. C., Jan. 10th, 1864.

Dear Lucy, — We had services to-day in a little sort of a shanty which has been put up for a church and a school house. The Chaplain told us that he welcomed us "cordually" and at the end said, "I like to dismiss a meeting in good time and I think it is about time to dismiss." And so he dismissed. Col. Beecher commanding the Brigade made a sermon which was very good, as indeed it ought to be, since he is an ex-minister and one of the famous Beechers. There was quite a collection of officers present, more indeed than I expected there would be. It is a good thing to have such a thing set a going and I am glad to see it. I have at last, my dear, got rid of my "erythymatous blushes." Perhaps you don't know what "erythymatous blushes" are. It is another name for little animals who possess a tremendous strength in their legs and by this strength are able to jump to great distances much to the trouble of the pursuers. The common name for these little animals is fleas, but we down here consider that a too vulgar name and call them "erythymatous blushes." The name arose under these circumstances. An officer was troubled with the "Phlebitis Americana" and called on Dr. Wilder who gave the above name to the trouble. . . . The Chaplain the other day sent in his resignation at the request of the Colonel, on account of his threatening to shoot a man. He is probably a believer in muscular Christianity. It got him into a muss at any rate. . . .

Folly Island, S. C., January 13th, 1864.

Dear Father, — I was entirely surprised at Bob Newell's having a commission in the 54th. He is a very smart and pleasant fellow. I wish he had applied for a commission here, for I could

have got him one as easily as possible and in my company too. The Colonel asked me the other day whether I knew of any good fellows who would like to join the regiment. . . . The regiment is again split up and sent off to various parts of the country. Company E, as I told you, under Capt. Goodwin is at Long Island and fifteen of my men with the Volunteer Engineers. Now they have sent Co. F. with Capt. Thurber and Lieut. Fowler up to the camp of the 1st Conn. Battery to learn artillery practice. This breaks up my mess pretty effectually since we three were the factors, so to speak, thereof. So I have joined a mess with Capt. Soule and Lieut. Garrison (now acting Quartermaster), which is very pleasant. Thurber however was my most intimate friend among the officers, (which to be sure is not saying very much,) and I miss him exceedingly. . . . The Captains are having rather a hard time with their duties as Officers of the Day and Commanders of the picket. There are only five of them on full duty and as three Captains have to go on every two days it comes rather tough on these five. . . . I wish something would be done about the 5th Cavalry. In spite of all the practice I have had, I hate waiting. I suppose however that there will be some trouble in getting recruits until the United States decides upon their pay. I don't suppose there is much doubt about their getting their pay in time. The men of our regiment bear the waiting very well. Very little if any murmuring about it and a fixed resolution not to accept any till they can get the whole. It must have been a very hard thing for them to refuse the money when it was put right under their noses by Major Sturgis, and there are not many white troops would have acted so spunkily and so calmly at the same time. I see that there has been a second Lieutenant appointed in the 5th Cavalry and that recruiting has been stopped for our two regiments. I hope to hear something definite by the next mail about *my* prospects. Capt. Pratt of Co. C has been detailed as Acting Ordnance Master for Morris and Folly Islands. It is a jolly good thing for him, since it gives him a horse and an orderly and entire liberty to go anywhere on both islands. He is going to erect a large building, 40 × 60 feet long for fixed ammunition, and has permission to build himself a house in the end of this building. To tell the truth, I don't like this matter — detailing officers from regiments. It throws more work on to the other officers and prevents the officer thus detailed from taking any interest in his company. It is a trouble which exists in every department (witness Capt. Motley,[1]

[1] Thomas Lawrence Motley.

Capt. Ritchie) and ought to be remedied. I am sorry to hear that Henry's arm does no better, though, as you say, I suppose that he bears it with resignation. The *Army and Navy Journals* come very regularly and are very interesting. I am glad to know who sent them and shall certainly write to Prof. Rogers and thank him for his kindness. I can't pretend to keep them for file as it is utterly impossible to keep any papers in your tent for more than a week, owing to the necessity of using them for table-cloths, and fire-kindlings, to say nothing of lending them round to officers less fortunate in this respect than I. Love to all.

FOLLY ISLAND, S. C., Jan. 14th, 1864.

DEAR MOTHER, — I am (honor bright) in good health, good spirits and good living. By-the-way I have got another relic of Fort Wagner. It is the rear sight of one of the rebel guns taken in that fort. Capt. Pratt gave it to me and he took it from the gun himself on the morning of the evacuation. It is a solid piece of brass and I think of having a candle-stick made of it, on my return to my domicile. Lieut. Ireland of the Signal Corps came over to see me to-day. He is a New York fellow whom I got acquainted with on my passage down here. He knows some of my friends and is a very nice sort of fellow, though young. Yesterday, after I had written my letter to Father, Bob Newell came over here and took dinner with us. . . . He seems in very good spirits and I think will make a very good officer, judging from what I know of him. We are having Brigade drills almost every afternoon and Col. Beecher is about as successful as any one could be in getting us mixed up and turned round in the most marvellous fashion. To-day we drilled two hours and a half without a single rest and then, after resting a short time, took a little march on the double quick through the heavy sand. It was delightful. Who wouldn't "go for a soger?" Col. Littlefield got back from the North a day or two ago but returns immediately in order to see about the bill which Congress is going to pass in regard to colored soldiers. . . .

FOLLY ISLAND, S. C., Jan. 17th, 1864.

DEAR CHARLOTTE, — After seeing Major Wales examine the knapsacks, guns and equipments of my men (which he pronounced satisfactory in the sum total and found fault with each individually) I returned towards my tent and found to my surprise

a Naval Officer, George Lawrence by name, who had come over to invite me to dinner on the *Pawnee,* on which vessel he is stationed. I cogitated for a while and knowing that, in all strictness, I should have to get a pass approved at Regimental Headquarters, then at Brigade and lastly at Division Headquarters, I went to see Colonel Hartwell, who wrote out an application and endorsed it and told me that I should not probably have much trouble if I simply got Col. Beecher's signature and ran the risk of being hauled up. So off I posted and got an aid of Col. Beecher's to sign it (in Col. B's absence) and started off all on the way to Stono. We stopped at Gen. Gordon's Headquarters and I had quite a long talk with John Gray, was introduced to Gen. G. and saw the Captain of the *Pawnee,* who was no other than Capt. Balch, whom I saw two years ago when I was at Port Royal and on whose vessel, (the *Pocohontas*) I went to Beaufort with Admiral Davis and his son and Mr. Fred Eustis. He knew me at once and so that was a very agreeable event. Then we went on board and had a jolly good dinner of boiled mutton and game, etc., etc., and when I started to come back, I found that there was an officer on board who was going up my way, that is, was going to row back to the North end of the island and would pass right by our picket line. So I was rowed back to camp and had altogether a very jolly pleasant time. . . . On the *Pawnee* I saw one of the guns taken by our forces on Stono Inlet last Christmas. They have mounted it on a carriage made of the wood of the raft from which the first gun was fired at Sumter. Quite an interesting relic. Ask Mother how she mends a place in a coat caused by a button tearing out and pulling the lining out with it. I have had such a hole for about three weeks and have been deliberating how to mend it. . . .

FOLLY ISLAND, S. C., January 21st, 1864.

DEAR FATHER, — I got your letter yesterday informing me that Gov. Andrew had written to Washington for an order for me to report to him. The order has not yet come, nor has the commission. I am very glad indeed to have the matter settled and so satisfactorily too, for though it is hard on some accounts to leave the company, yet the advantages gained are a full recompense. I have just had a 1st Lieut. assigned to my company, Lt. Stimpson.[1] He is trying to get into the 5th Cavalry and I hope if Henry has anything to do with the commissions, that he will do

[1] Edward S. Stimpson, of Salem. He resigned June 6, 1864.

his best to keep Lieut. S. out. He isn't worth shucks. Now that I have got my commission would it not be a good plan for you to ask Fatal, the son of Mr. Austin's man, whether he would like a sergeantcy in my company. I know by experience what a blessing such a man as he would be in a company. . . . It would not do any harm to be looking after a horse for me either. I should need one that weighed 1200 lbs. I think. Yesterday we took part in a review of all the men on the island. Gen. Gordon was the reviewing officer. There were two batteries of artillery, and about fifteen or eighteen regiments of infantry. Our men looked very well and marched well too. We were kept on our feet some three hours and a half in a warm sun. I have just had a very satisfactory interview with Quartermaster Muzzey and he has promised to give me all the articles which I turned over to him at Readville. This, though it seems a perfectly clear and proper thing, did not appear such for some time in the eyes of Quartermaster Muzzey.[1] I am very glad to have it settled since the clothing was worth between $150 and $200. They have turned the 40th Mass. into Cavalry and are furnishing it with all the old rucks that there are in the department. The officers all think me very lucky and declare that they are troubled with the disease of "Cavalry on the Brain." Love to all.

Folly Island, S. C., January 29th, 1864.

Dear Mother, — I have as yet received no orders from Washington. . . . The trouble is, you see, that the orders have to be transmitted through all the various headquarters that there are round here. First to Gen. Gillmore, and then successively to Gens. Terry, Gordon, Foster, Cols. Beecher and Hartwell, down to me. And so taking into consideration the probability, almost amounting to a certainty, that some of the Generals or at least their Adjutant-Generals will be found drunk, it is not wonderful that I should have to wait a little while. Yesterday I took a bath in the ocean and though the water was rather cold, it was very invigorating. To-day we had a Brigade drill on the beach and I got as hot as on a summer day at the North. . . . Why, I

[1] Muzzey was a bad lot. I turned over a lot of things to him for transportation at Readville and took no receipt, in my ignorance. He then refused to account for them. I think I had to draw up charges against him before he consented to return them to me. If I remember aright the charges were not endorsed at Headquarters of the Brigade, where I think Muzzey was detailed. When he finally turned over his effects as Quartermaster he got his successor, Garrison, to receipt for lots of things which were not in his possession, much to G.'s sorrow afterwards. — C. P. B.

sat for some time to-day with my hat off in the open air in front of my tent. There is no doubt about it, the weather here at certain seasons is delightful. Gen. Gordon is reported to be under arrest for some harshness of discipline, but as the report is of a Fox-y nature, I do not know whether I ought to put full trust in it. The troops are rapidly leaving Morris Island now. A good many colored troops, including the 54th Mass. and the 3d Penn., have left. I suppose that it will be the luck of this regiment to be left here to do picket duty on this island. Just think of the regiment having been eight months in service and never having seen any real work except severe shelling. They ought to give us a chance just to see what we *can* do. I want to speak again of the purpose Lieut. Stimpson has of trying to get into the Cavalry. As I said before he is as low a fellow as ever drew breath. He was on detached service before he was assigned to my company, got drunk, was sent back to his regiment, pretended to reform and two or three nights ago got drunk again. Urge Henry to use all his influence against him. I told Lieut. S. the other day that I was going to do my best to keep him out of the regiment. . . . There are several of our officers who are poor drunken fellows and one who is going to be tried by court martial for that offense. . . . But some of those who get drunk have decidedly redeeming traits, but Lt. Stimpson has none, I am sorry to say. Capt. Nutt of our regiment, (formerly a sergeant in the 2nd) is going to apply for the Colonelcy of one of the colored regiments to be raised here. I don't believe that the regiments formed of the South Carolina negroes can be brought into so good a state of discipline and effectiveness as ours however. Love to all.

FOLLY ISLAND, S. C., Feb'y 3d, 1864.

DEAR MOTHER, — Talk about Uncle Sam being good to his soldiers! For my part, I never saw a greater brute of an uncle in all my life. Here I have been over eight months in the service of the Government and have received no pay and am not likely to receive any for some time longer. The paymaster is here but refuses to pay me a cent because I was sick and had no other excuse for being absent beyond the original leave than the certificate of an Army surgeon. The paymaster says that I shall have to go before a board here, who will examine into my case and, if the investigation is satisfactory, they will so report to the Secretary of War, who will in his turn report to Gen. Gillmore that there is no objection to my being paid, and Gen. Gillmore will

notify me. . . . What a charming system! There is a rumor that the 54th have refused to do any more work on account of not having received any pay and the other day Col. Hartwell received an anonymous letter from one of our men saying that if we were not paid by the 1st of March, the men would stack arms and do no more duty, and that more than half the regiment were of that way of thinking. A good many have the idea that if they are not paid at the end of nine months, they will go back to Massachusetts and be mustered out of the service. I should not be surprised if we had some trouble with them within the next month. Little things show which way the wind blows and the men are rather given to talking about their non-receipt of pay. Of course there is nothing to be done, but it is very hard indeed for the men. I can judge of their feelings by mine. . . . I have fulfilled my part of the contract with the Government as far as I know how, and if they fail in fulfilling theirs, so much the worse for their character. . . . Nothing new has happened excepting the appearance of a big fire the other day, which was supposed to be the burning of Legareville. There was quite a lively shelling over towards Long Island the other day, but the result we have not learned. Quite a lot of our officers are of a mighty poor character and having received their pay a party of them have collected in my 1st Lieut.'s tent to gamble, etc. They call themselves the Philistines and us who have no connection with such operations, the Israelites. The Israelites are continually adding recruits to their band and I am happy to say that the Philistines are in consequence losing. Love to all.

Folly Island, S. C., Feb'y 6th, 1864.

Dear Father, — I received the family letters of Jan'y 17th and 18th a few days ago, they having been kept at the Post Office for want of postage. The envelope had one new and one old three cent stamp upon it which caused it to be detained and me to pay six cents for it. Pretty mean sort of business, I think, to keep back a soldier's letter for such a trifle. . . . It has been found out that there is no truth in the rumor of the 54th refusing to do duty. If it were true, it would have a disastrous effect on the cause of the negro, while at present every body admires their spirit in patiently waiting till the Government shows them justice. . . . The negroes are the hardest people to reason with that you can imagine. Last night I had a talk with one of my men, a very respectable inhabitant of Connecticut, and one

who has received a very good High School education. I asked him how it was that his class refused so earnestly to wear the clothes of a man who had died. He couldn't tell exactly, but said that he had a suit of clothes of his father's and grandfather's and that he would sooner go naked than wear them. I tried to argue with him, but it was not use; the superstition was too deeply imbedded in his mind to be easily eradicated. And so it is with all. And therefore if the men undertook to refuse to work on principle, as they think, it would take a perfect Sheridan to bring them round. . . . We had a grand review yesterday of all the troops on the island by Gen. Ames [1] or Gen. Shimmelfennig,[2] I don't know which. This latter general goes by the name of Shinglepenny. Nineteen regiments of infantry appeared and three or four battalions of artillery, making a total of 6900 or 7000 men. A good many men of the differents did not of course appear and so I suppose there are between 9000 and 10,000 troops on Folly Island. Then there are 3000 to 5000 on Morris Island. . . . The troops made a very fine display indeed, and I don't think that many of them marched better than ours did. Gen. Gordon is still under arrest and they say charges have been preferred against him. It is perfectly shameful if it is so, though his action in putting an officer in the guard-house is by no means justifiable. Hoping to be at home soon, I am etc.

FOLLY ISLAND, So. Ca., Feb'y 10th, 1864.

DEAR MOTHER, — We are under marching orders for Jacksonville, Fla., to report to Gen. Seymour.[3] This is beginning to look like more active work than we have been having. The troops have been withdrawn lately very quietly and quickly from both this and Morris Islands. At present there are only five regiments on Morris, and not more than six or seven on this island. I imagine 6000 men is a large estimate for the total forces of both. Our Brigade is now doing all the picketing of the South end of the island from Pawnee landing to Stono inlet. The last time I was on picket, Lt. Col. Fox was Brigade Officer of the Day and came out to where I was stationed and informed me very mysteriously that Gordon's division was going to move off that day and that I must keep a sharp look-out for boats, etc., etc., telling me that various reserves had been sent out and showing me where they were placed, and in fact making such a pow-wow that one

[1] Adelbert Ames.
[2] Alexander Schimmelfennig (d. 1865).
[3] Truman Seymour (–1891).

would really think that we held an entrenched camp in the midst of the rebels and that they were intent on devouring us. However in spite of the timidity occasioned by the Colonel's remarks I managed to get a very good sleep. Towards morning I was dozing, while my Lieut. was watching, and was roused by an altercation of some sort outside and found that the sentry had stopped Col. Wettstein,[1] the Division Officer of the Day and would not let him advance unless he got off his horse, which of course, was proper, seeing that he was alone. Col. Wettstein was intensely disgusted and called for the Corporal and then for the Lieut. of the picket, but finding that they were all resolute, he pocketed his dignity and dismounted. I then had a long discussion upon the propriety and necessity of making a man on horseback dismount, but I am afraid that I did not make much impression on Col. W.[2] . . . I don't think that we shall start very soon, however, for we shall have to wait for transportation, of which there is a very small supply at present. Jacksonville is a place which was burnt by Montgomery, I think, some months ago. It is said that the place has already been taken and that it only remains for us to occupy it. . . . I should not object very much to going to Florida, however, for it would be quite a change after this barren old island. I have at last got all my men back from Pawnee Landing, giving me a full company — ninety-eight enlisted men — the largest in the regiment. The smallpox has broken out in the North Carolina camp and a chain of sentries is placed between the two regiments. This disease however seems to take hold of the negroes with much less severity than it does of white men. They get well of it very easily. I have two men in my company who had the smallpox at Readville — one very badly — and they are as well as can be now. . . .

On board Steamer *Peconic,* Feb'y 14th, 1864.

Dear Henry, — All on the way to Jacksonville. For the last week we have been under marching orders and yesterday it was pretty certain that we were to move, but there was nothing done about it till two or three P.M. when orders came for Cos. A, C and I, to leave immediately and embark on a transport which would be ready for them at Pawnee Landing. So we started in

[1] Andrew Wettstein.

[2] As I remember it, the pickets were posted on hillocks, but at high tide the ground between some of the posts was under water. Col. W. very naturally disliked to dismount in a foot of water. But he ought to have brought his orderly with him.

about half an hour and had not got very far before we received orders not to go on board before the baggage, and as we had left the baggage behind us, of course there was nothing to be done but to wait at the landing till it arrived. This we did and when it came we were informed that the boat could not carry it all, so that all but the personal baggage of the officers and the rations had to be left for another boat. So about seven or eight o'clock we marched on board the *Peconic,* which is a very nice little boat for inland waters but never intended to go to sea, and is by no means seaworthy for such service. Thanks to the determination of the Captain of the steamboat, we are very little crowded. The orders in the first place were to put on board 300 troops, the Colonel of Brigade and his Staff and the necessary baggage, rations and forage. We took on board however about 230 men, leaving out a good deal of the property of Brigade headquarters and a lot of the property belonging to the companies. This vessel is a very neat little steamer (side wheel) with no room in the hold and drawing very little water, carrying most of her room above water, so that we have to keep the men on the lower deck to prevent the boat from becoming top-heavy. We have got the mail on board so that we shall have to stop at Hilton Head, which will delay us for some four or five hours or so, and we shall not probably arrive at Jacksonville till to-morrow morning. They say that we shall have to march some twelve or fifteen miles up into the country before we get there.

[This letter ends abruptly. My recollection is not very distinct about what happened, but I think I found my orders at Hilton Head to go North. I went before some U. S. officer and was probably mustered out and in again for I left the regiment there and started North. On some accounts I regretted leaving the 55th, but I was not in a condition to do marching and the opportunity to have a horse and to be with Henry was too good a one to be lost. I often missed my men and fellow officers.

My recollection is curiously slight of the details of my life between February and May, 1864. I reached home, received my commission as Captain of the 5th Mass. Vol. Cavalry, and was given Co. F. We went into camp at Readville, the same camp which we had occupied in the latter part of our stay there in the 55th. Col. Harry S. Russell was in command. The men were by no means equal

in character to those of the 54th and 55th, and the officers were not of the same class in many cases as those of my old regiment. I had a horse which I bought of a Mrs. Loring, daughter of Dr. Thompson, our Unitarian minister at Jamaica Plain, and which was represented as too slow for even a lady to drive. When I first got on him however, he got blind crazy from fear of my sabre which was dangling against his side and from the spurs, and ran away hitting the barrack buildings and throwing himself and me. After that, though I rode him constantly, he was always ready to run away and once when I let him run and directed him to the railroad embankment on the back of the Parade ground he ran nearly to the top and then turning on the steep slope came back again to the level though I expected him to fall at any time. Co. F. was in Henry's battalion. — C. P. B.]

Arlington Heights, Va., May 10th, 1864.

Dear Mother, — Just think of our being here in Camp Casey, turned into infantry and about to drill in Casey's tactics. Horrid isn't it? It is all very well to die for one's country but to be turned from cavalry to infantry for one's country is a very different thing. It is merely a temporary arrangement however, to last only while all the troops are fighting big battles at the front and to prevent any untimely guerilla raid in the rear. The officers are allowed to retain their horses and all have concluded to grin and bear it, since there is nothing else to do. After our departure from Readville every thing went along quietly till we got to New London, where we had to wait from six till two in the morning before we started. Then at New York they were entirely unaware of our coming, and we had to wait awhile there, so that we did not get to Philadelphia till six or seven Saturday night, and by a series of delays we arrived at Washington on Sunday evening. Between Washington and Baltimore we had an accident which luckily was not so serious as you might expect. Our battalion was placed in seven covered cars (common baggage cars fitted with seats lengthwise) and mighty old cars at that. This made about forty men to a car, which crowded them so that many got on top. Every thing went serenely till about twenty miles from Washington when the axle of the forward wheels of the car which contained my men broke in halves and being pushed back tore off the trucks and wheels of other cars,

smashing up two behind and one in front. Strange to say, no one was killed, though about a dozen got their joints sprained and faces cut. It was the luckiest escape I ever knew. Here were 150 men in the four cars, two of which were piled up over the broken wheels and trucks, while another was resting flat on the ground with no wheels at all and no one seriously injured. We set to work in a little while and in a couple of hours we had cleared the tracks and were on our way to Washington, where we passed the night and after storing our horse equipment, preparatory to becoming infantry, we were sent to Camp Casey. We are allowed nothing but shelter tents here though there is a prospect of the officers living in barracks. There are at present some 1200 men in camp here (all colored) besides our own. They are the most undisciplined mob I ever saw. They have no more respect for officers than nothing at all. I have not seen more than a couple of men salute since I have been here. The officers are about as bad. Yesterday I had a little row with a Captain of the Invalid Corps. Major Adams had posted a guard in a Government warehouse over our baggage. This captain had a guard over there too, and had received orders not to allow any soldiers in the building. The sergeant of our guard having received his orders from the Major, refused to obey the captain's order and when one of the Government employees tried to use force the sergeant drew his sabre on him. One of the warehouse men thereupon came up to our barracks to complain and wished the guard withdrawn. I was in command of the battalion in the absence of the Major and of course refused to withdraw the guard without further orders. Pretty soon up came the Captain (Ripley by name) in a furious rage, followed by the guard. He asked for the officer commanding and said that he wished me to put the sergeant under arrest for drawing his sabre on a government employee and secondly for refusing to obey his (Capt. Ripley's) order. I refused to do this, telling him that the sergeant was perfectly right in not obeying his orders, and that if he drew his sabre on an employee of the government, it was after being insulted and when force was employed. Capt. R. then told me that he was ordered not to allow any soldiers in the warehouse and that he received these orders from Gen. Rucker.[1] I told him that I would dismiss the guard and hold him responsible for our baggage which I did. He was not satisfied and at last accounts had reported the Sergeant for his conduct and me for my refusal to put said sergeant under arrest. That is the last

[1] Daniel Henry Rucker.

that I shall hear of him probably. In Philadelphia we went to the Soldiers' Rest and got a jolly good supper and wash and in the morning we had breakfast in Baltimore. While we remained in Washington we were also fed at a Soldiers' Rest. They are great institutions, very refreshing indeed.

This morning Major Adams, Capt. Clark and myself have been staking out our camp. We have got a very nice camping ground with a gentle slope and large enough for ten companies. We staked the whole camp out, and I tell you, when it is finished, will make a mighty nice appearance. Our camp here is about three miles from Washington over Long Bridge. I have found out the advantage of having a full complement of officers. The day we started I was pitched on to supply the officer of the Day and Adjutant of the battalion from my company, just because I had three officers. Now Mr. Mallory is acting as Quartermaster and Mr. Whittemore [1] as Adjutant and I am left alone. However, it will only last till the other battalion comes.

[We did not stay near Washington long, but were soon ordered to the front. We were shipped down the Potomac, stopped at Fortress Monroe and went up the James River to City Point. — C. P. B.]

City Point, Va., May 23d, 1864.

Dear Father, — For a little while at any rate, we are definitely established here and we are endeavoring to make ourselves as comfortable as possible. I rather think that you would consider we had something else to do than guard prisoners if you saw the way we have to work. Regularly every morning we have to get up at three A.M. and turn out our companies under arms. After calling the roll they stack their arms and go to sleep in the rear of the stacks until five, one officer remaining with the men and keeping awake. At five another roll-call and men have to keep their equipments on till seven. Then there is an order for five hours drill, which makes nine hours a day for the men to keep their equipments on. The other night when the rebels attacked Butler, we stayed under arms all night. Last night we sent out a picket of 300 men and this morning one of my corporals is brought in wounded in the thigh. The bone is broken and I don't suppose that he will ever get well. You see I'm cross as thunder and the weather is equally hot and the

[1] C. H. Whittemore.

water is awfully filthy. The drinking water is good however. I find Verplanck,[1] one of my classmates, here on Gen. Hinks's staff.[2] Capt. John White is also on his staff. It was just a year ago yesterday that I entered the army.

CITY POINT, Va., May 25th, 1864.

DEAR LUCY, — I have not been very well for the last week, having had a little feverish attack brought on by exposure to the sun. I think I must have got a little sun-struck on board the transport, for after waking up from a sleep in the sun I felt headachy and all-sort-of-overish-you — in short rather under the weather. I am all right again now however. I expect for some time to enjoy myself and not to have much hard work to do, since Gen. Hinks has just shown that he possesses a large amount of sense by putting me upon a General Court martial for the trial of whatever cases come up and of which Col. Russell is President. We can't tell how long this court may last, but I guess I'm in for it for a few weeks. It is very jolly as it relieves me of all duty of all sorts in the regiment. I do not have to go on as Officer of the Day, (nor on picket) nor get up to attend roll-call, nor nothing. As it was given me without any suggestion or asking on my part, I feel no scruples about accepting it. Lieuts. Adams and Higginson of our regiment are also members besides quite a number of officers from other troops. Entrenchments have been thrown up here and there with pickets and the natural conformation of the ground renders this place somewhat secure. Henry is out now in charge of all the pickets which now consist entirely of our regiment, except one or two mounted videttes. Our men being new are of course seeing things where there is nothing to be seen, and last night there was a continual firing all along the line. Last night there was heavy firing some sixteen miles below here at Wilson's creek on the North side of James River. They sent down reinforcements from here, and altogether had a lively time. We hear almost every day the cannon and musketry firing of Butler's army. By the way, he made us a visit the other day. He is by all odds the most shocking and disreputable looking man I ever clapped my eyes on. He had his hat perched sideways on his head and looked more like a New York "Blood-tub" or a "Plug-ugly" than anything else. . . . Raining like the Old Nick.

[1] Robert Newlin Verplanck (1842–1908).
[2] Edward Ward Hinks (d. 1894).

City Point, Va., May 28th, 1864.

Dear Mother, — Not much is transpiring here except the arrival of more troops. The 22nd colored troops and the 4th I believe have come here, which fill up the small space which we have inside the intrenchments pretty closely. Yesterday we had to move our camp on account of changing the line of intrenchments. Yesterday the news came that " Baldy " Smith was crossing the Appomattox on the way to Petersburg and had advanced four or five miles on his way without a shot. Last evening however I heard that the Petersburg expedition had been given up and that Butler was crossing, or going to cross, the James at or near Malvern Hill and co-operate with Gen. Butler (*sic*). Thursday I was invited to Gen. Hinks's to tea. I found the General playing euchre with Capt. John White (his expected brother-in-law) in the latter's room. Gen. H. was very sociable and I had quite a pleasant conversation. He has very much the look of McClellan though without the scowl which McC. has on his forehead. Bob Verplanck, one of my classmates, is on Gen. Hinks's staff and it was very nice to have a chance to talk over old times. The house which is occupied as Headquarters must have been a very pleasant one in peaceful times, but now it is pretty effectually used up by shot and shell. In the side of the front lower entry I counted four large holes where the shells had gone through. You could trace the whole track of some of them, in at one side of the house, through the walls and out at the other side. The grounds outside are very handsome though evidently kept in the usual careless Southern style. The roses are in full bloom all around and I have a bunch in my tent which one of my men brought me. Our court martial moves slowly enough to please the most lazy. Yesterday we disposed of two cases. I enclose herein a protractor taken by Lt. Whittemore from a rebel house just outside our picket lines. He is a very good hand at foraging. He brought in a medicine chest, a chair, coffee pot, salt cellar, a saddle and half a dozen novels, which latter are very acceptable indeed. There is an order against foraging, but as he turned over the medicine chest to the surgeon who pronounced it exactly what he wanted, as his had not come, I don't think that any trouble will come from it. It makes me disgusted to see the mild way that the secessionists are treated. Dr. Reps (or some such name) was the owner of the grounds here on City Point and was taken by us on our occupation. He was taken to Fort Monroe and afterwards released and sent to Richmond. He now sends up a schedule of the property which he says he had which he wishes

to be sent after him and Gen. Butler has ordered Gen. Hinks to collect all the property and have a report made on its condition preparatory to turning it over to the Doctor. In the schedule are four slaves and one Confederate flag. Gen. Hinks says that these two articles will not give him much trouble, since he does not recognize slaves as property and he has no knowledge of there being a Confederate nation which has a right to have a flag. Love to all.

CITY POINT, Va., May 29th, 1864.

DEAR MOTHER, — Things is pretty mixed here just at present. Last night my company had just got in from picket duty when we were ordered to be ready to start at 6 P.M. at two hours notice with two days provisions. The 2nd battalion comprising companies E, F, G and H, (May 30th.) therefore started off at the above time and were put on board a transport with one wagon for our baggage. Rumor said that we were going up the Appomattox, which turned out to be true and in a short time we found ourselves some four or five miles up the river, where we saw a pontoon bridge stretching from one shore to the other. We had got all the companies ready to land, when up comes a despatch boat from City Point ordering us back again to camp. We were pretty well disgusted, I can tell you, especially as just then the head of the army began to cross the bridge to the South side of the river. However there was nothing to be done except to obey orders, though it did make us feel, as Col. Russell said, like "a shirt collar with all the starch taken out." So back we steamed to City Point again, pulling off a boat, that had grounded, on the way down and got back to camp by nine P.M. Thus ended the first cavalry, steamboat, infantry raid of the 5th Mass. It was some satisfaction however to take a sail up the Appomattox as far as we did. The banks of the river in places were filled with mountain laurels in full bloom and covered with a thick underbrush, affording a magnificent chance for sharpshooters who could have picked off men on the boats with the greatest ease and impunity, since the banks of the river approach very close together as one ascends. Yesterday morning the troops which we had seen begin to cross the pontoon bridge made their appearance down here, having had to march four or five miles. At this place they were put upon transports and sent — somewhere. Lieut. James [1] of the 55th Mass, now on Gen. Ames's staff came over here and said that he was going down to Fortress

[1] Robertson James.

Monroe that afternoon. After these white troops had passed through here, three regiments of colored troops, the 4th, 5th, and 22nd U. S. were sent up to where they had come from, leaving this point with only this regiment and one battalion of the 4th Mass. Cavalry to defend it. Col. Rand[1] of the 4th is in command of the defences here. The entrenchments have gone up very quickly and I think we could make quite a fight behind them, though I must say I should prefer that the rebels should not bring more than 40,000 or 50,000 men against us. The colored troops fought very well, they say, at Wilson's creek and gave the chivalry an idea of what the negroes can do, when they have freedom and Fort Pillow to nerve them. This regiment does the whole picket duty for this Point which is keeping them pretty constantly employed. Love to all.

P. S. 5.30 P.M. Very heavy firing up the river. — C. P. B.

City Point, Va., June 5th, 1864.

Dear Father, — We have got to move our camp again, after having got all comfortably settled here.

June 7th, 1864. I should have acknowledged the receipt of the cash which arrived day before yesterday, but I got pretty well tired out yesterday with the long sitting of our court martial. Yesterday we had a very long session from eight in the morning till after one and I do not think that any of the members were very sorry to adjourn over to-day. We have got moved into our new camp, which affords a very nice swamp for our men to live in, though the officers' quarters are on higher ground. A ditch runs diagonally across the company street, which in our street has been covered over with boards. However, it is not so bad as if the men did not have board floors for their tents. For the last four or five days there has been no firing of any importance heard in the direction of Grant, while previously the firing was very distinct and heavy. We can hardly look for the evacuation of Richmond yet awhile however. Lee isn't a man to give up easily. Love to all at home.

Somewhere near the Appomattox, June 18th, 1864.

Dear Mother, — We have had our first fight and I have got out all right. Wednesday morning (June 15th) we started out at half past one o'clock from City Point, marched till about six or

[1] Arnold Augustus Rand (1837–1917).

seven with an interval of two or three hours rest. Somewhere about seven or eight we were formed in line and marched through fields and over a railroad gully and through dense woods till we came to an open field, where we found a line of infantry drawn up some little way in front of us. When we first formed line, some shell came over our heads with a rather disagreeable accuracy of fire, one of which damaged some of the horses of the 4th Cavalry. The line officer dismounted and sent the horses to the rear, thinking it preferable to keep their horses all straight than to have to walk on all the marches of the regiment. Well, after getting into the open and having a few shells pitched at us, the line in front of us moved on and we followed suit. We entered into a thick wood, just as full of underbrush as it could be, rendering it almost impossible to keep in line. We did our best however and succeeded pretty decently in places. In the mean time the front line had driven the rebs out of the woods and they began to play pretty sharply with grape and canister, and the sharpshooters letting us have a good share of rifle bullets, while the shell burst round altogether too freely to be amusing. Capt. Clark, Co. G.[1] was hit soon after entering the wood by a splinter, which knocked him down and lamed him doing him no serious damage, so that he kept on the ground till after the affair was over. The first thing that I saw on emerging from the woods was a mass of men in front of me firing apparently at random and now and then cheering. After a while and before I reached them, they turned round and ran for the woods. You can judge of the effect such a course would have upon our men, just coming out of the woods, and seeing others running helter skelter back upon them. Our officers set to work and tried to rally them (i.e., the 6th U. S. colored troops which had broken) but could do nothing with them till they were in the woods, where our men and the 6th were mixed up all together. We got them up again and out of the woods, and formed line again in the open field, but in the mean time Col. Russell had been shot in the shoulder and Major Adams[2] in the breast and we were all under the command of the Lieut. Col. of the 6th, who was more like a fool than anything else. We had got into line behind a hedge and were in a good position to start a charge, when we were moved forward to a position where there was not a mite of cover and where the rebs had a slanting fire on us. Here formed in line three or four deep, we stood while the battery played on us like

[1] Hiram E. W. Clarke.
[2] Zabdiel Boylston Adams (1829–1902).

the old Harry. By charging at this time we could have taken the battery as easily as possible, but the Colonel of the 6th ordered us to lie down, and then moved us by the flank somewhat to the rear and flank of the battery. Luckily for us the battery was charged from the other side and the rebs left. Otherwise they could have done us considerable damage during the flank march. One gun — a 12-lb. howitzer (brass) — was taken in the battery, which gun we hauled into City Point. Henry will probably give you a better drawing of the field than I. . . . In the beginning the men were exposed to a severe cross-fire, while sharpshooters in the woods around made it extremely nasty. Only one of my men was wounded and that not seriously. Our men behaved very well indeed though it is not the most favorable way of going into a first action with another regiment breaking through them. Well, after all this thing was stopped and the enemy retreated, we were marched and counter-marched and at last were ordered to support a battery of ten guns which was going to take part in the attack on the Petersburg entrenchments. We were put in various positions and kept getting shelled out of all. In one, a round three or four inch shell, after hitting the ground, rolled along to the front rank of our men, without exploding. At another time an elongated shell ricochetted and, bouncing over and over, made a jump across the gully through which the road ran, just escaping by six inches Capt. Kaler,[1] who dodged in time, and passing through his company. The shell came so slowly that they had full time to get out of the way. We lay in support of the battery till night, and heard the engagement by which the forts were taken, and marched up and passed the night just outside one of the forts.

Near Point of Rocks, Va., June 18th, 1864.

Dear Charlotte, — Wednesday afternoon about sunset our men advanced on the fortifications thrown up about two miles from Petersburg. They rushed on over a long open plain on which they were exposed to a cross-fire from three batteries and charged the centre fort. . . . How our troops managed to take them I can't imagine, for it would be almost impossible if there had been a large force to defend them. As it was the men rushed over the plain with a cheer and fired a volley. Over they went in spite of everything and captured the middle fort and soon after the right one. The left was evacuated without much trouble

[1] Cornelius Kaler.

to us. The forts were very strongly built, but not by any means so well as many of ours. Some dozen guns were captured in the two right hand ones, but I believe the left hand one had all the guns taken from it before our forces took possession. That night we slept just outside the left fort. The ground in front of the fort was covered over with tall weeds and some underbrush, and in places it had been impossible to bury the dead, and the result was the most awful stench. The next morning we started and marched down to the right of the line nearer the river and lay up on a ridge till about noon. Then again we started and this time for the rear. We stopped near the Brigade team of Gen. Stannard [1] and got some jolly good ice-water. Then up again and this time we camped in the orchard and close to the house of some people calling themselves Union, and whose property was therefore respected. We bought some hens however and potatoes and eggs and had a jolly chicken stew and roast chicken. Then I bought a large pailful of milk and had two of three jolly tumblers full of milk fresh from the cow, going down to see the cows milked for the purpose. There was an ice house near by and I tell you the dinner we had was pretty good. Then up again and acted as reserve for a skirmish line and to guard against a flank attack which of course never came. Yesterday morning up again and marched down the Appomattox and crossed the river on the pontoon bridge between Spring Hill and Point of Rocks and came and encamped here, where we have remained since. Last night the report was that Grant had demanded the surrender of Petersburg on threat of shelling it and we certainly heard some very heavy firing in that direction. Heavy firing has been going on all the morning.

Hdqrs. 5th Mass. Cav. In the field,
June 22nd, 1864.

DEAR FATHER, — We had hardly got into camp at Point of Rocks and got our tents all pitched before we were ordered to be ready to start. This was Tuesday night and the next morning we broke camp at two, but did nothing but lie round and wait till seven or eight, when the column really got started and, marching very rapidly, crossed the Appomattox and directed our course towards Petersburg. About noon we encamped in the woods, near enough for the enemy to see us perfectly, which they evidently did, for they threw one shell into us which did no

[1] George Jerrison Stannard (d. 1886).

damage however, passing some fifteen feet over our heads and exploding harmlessly. In the afternoon we were again set in motion and this time our regiment marched back exactly the same track that they had come, for some mile and a half or two miles, and now are on picket along the river this side of Petersburg and opposite the rebel batteries, which are in plain sight from our pickets. They have not disturbed us however as yet. This is just the country which would make an agriculturist's mouth water. Splendid pieces of open field and nicely planted with corn and oats are lying all round loose. There is one piece close by the house where we are bivouacked (the same one I spoke of in a former letter occupied by the Rushmores) in which the corn is planted with the most mathematical accuracy. It seems rather hard to spoil such fine fields of grain by marching through them with horses and men, smashing down the grain without compunction, but it has to be done and can't be helped. . . .

On picket on the Appomattox, June 25th, 1864.

Dear Mother, — I have been out here on the outer picket about two days in charge of a line along this river. The other bank is held by the rebels and we can see them very easily walking quietly along, without heeding in the least that we are within good shooting distance of them. The rebs have got fortifications opposite the left of our line, from which they amuse themselves shelling some of our forts, which in turn amuse themselves in shelling back. Some of the shells which have been provided with poor cartridges drop down very uncomfortably near our picket line. Between where our line runs and the river is a dense swamp some one-eighth or a quarter of a mile wide. Yesterday about six P.M. we were ordered to throw the whole line out upon the banks of the river. Some of the posts could be placed very easily, but three of them, which I had to post, had to be pushed through a dense jungle with grape vines and all other sorts of vine intervening, which had to be cut away with a knife in order to make any progress. Then would come a swamp of alders, really leaving no space larger than a foot wide between the stalks. Every now and then we would come to ditches and the ground was most disgustingly swampy for the whole distance. I posted the three pickets, however, though it took a couple of hours to do it, and was pretty well played out afterwards. A drink of whiskey and a night's sleep made me all right however. You say that you don't think I take care enough of my health.

I should be obliged if you would tell me how it is possible to do so in the army. You can't diet, to save you. You have to eat what you can get, and I have always found that I get along better by eating in moderation whatever really relishes than by confining myself to what seems to be the best food for one in my situation. No firing going on on either side of any account. We have put up a battery just behind Rushmore's house, which is expected to open on the rebs soon and to make the rebs open their eyes.

In the field, June 27th, 1864.

DEAR CHARLOTTE, — Day before yesterday I was relieved from picket and got back to camp in time to put up my A tent, which had just arrived from Point of Rocks. I was pretty well tuckered out. Yesterday our forces opened from a battery of four 30-lb. Parrott guns, which they have put up just on our left. The third shot dismounted one of the reb guns and drove the defenders of the redoubt helter skelter out of the work. The rebs fired pretty accurately however, one shot hitting the parapet and another passing directly over the fort. Yesterday I was over in the battery and had an opportunity of seeing Gen'l Baldy Smith. He was taking a view of the country round about and was accompanied by a little fellow — a captain on his staff, I suppose. He has rather a round face with a light colored moustache and imperial and is a very solid substantial sort of man, one who lives well, I guess, when he is able. They fired the guns for his edification, he being desirous of shelling a bit of woods where a rebel battery was supposed to be; but as half the shells did not explode and the other half burst up in the air, no great harm was done, I imagine. Today they have been having quite a scrimmage in the way of artillery firing, but as no shells have come in this direction I have not taken much notice of it. Tell my paternal that lately I have had too much to do to pay any attention to Miss Julia and that owing to the large influx of troops the number of cows belonging to her family has decreased so sensibly that it is impossible to get milk, even by paying great attention to milking and the young lady.[1]

[1] Shortly after this the regiment was sent to Point Lookout to guard rebel prisoners. I never knew why this was done, for our men had been discharging their duties very well. I well remember the picket duty of which I have written above. After posting the three pickets, I was so dead played out that rather than take the longer path back by which I had come, I walked as straight back to the main post as I could although it led me through a deep swamp and in full sight of the rebel pickets.

Point Lookout, July 3d, 1864.

Dear Mother, — The difference between our present mode of life and that which we have had is something remarkable. I have got a wall tent to myself and have used my A tent to make a porch in front. A Kidderminster, or 3-ply, or something of the sort of carpet, half covers my floor, while the boards appear in the other half. But a board floor anyhow is a luxury, since there are only one or two in camp. A door on hinges hangs at the front of the tent, while in the door a frame holding four panes of glass turns on *its* hinges and allows me to sleep with my window open or shut. An arm-chair and my army chair, which is also an arm-chair and a pine table stained red add to the luxuriousness and comfort of my apartment. Just think how mad the officers of the regiment whom we relieved must have felt, to have been obliged to leave all this comfortable camp and fixins. We have just had a Sunday evening's inspection instead of a morning one, and finished off with a Dress parade and a bath in the sea. It is not a very good place for sea-bathing owing to there being bars for a long distance out, so that you have to go nearly a quarter of a mile out to get to water deep enough to swim in. The water itself is very pleasant and does not give you the sticky feeling which salt water generally does after you have come out and got dry. As far as eating is concerned, I am very well off. I take two quarts of milk a day and so have my bread and milk every night and morning. The people come down from up country with berries, chickens, onions, etc., so that we shall be able to live like fighting cocks. I suppose that we are pretty permanently established here. To-morrow is the 4th of July and we are to have a flag raising, but I don't think that I shall celebrate the day except by being the Officer of the Day. I was Officer of the Day, last 4th of July at Readville. Give my love to all.

Point Lookout, Md., July 6th, 1864.

Dear Lucy, — The best thing you can do is to persuade your parents to come down to Point Lookout, St. Mary's district, State of Maryland, and pass a week or so, bringing you down with

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It was folly to post the pickets on the river bank, for an alarm could have been given much more quickly if a rebel advance had been formed to make their way through the swamp. My picket was the last one placed there and the order was withdrawn. Julia Rushmore was the daughter of the house who went down with me to see the cows milked. Henry and Father were inclined to make fun of my devotion to her, but it was worth any amount of devotion to get the milk. — C. P. B.

them. The place (that is, the point itself, for we encamped a mile and a half from the Point) contains the following places worthy of notice:

1°. A large swamp, occupying a good sized piece.

2°. A large enclosure, called by outsiders a "pen," in which 15,000 rebel prisoners are penned up. What the inhabitants of the "pen" call it, I have not inquired.

3°. A big hotel capable of containing at the lowest estimate a dozen persons. (This hotel is not quite finished and stands between the swamp and the Potomac river.)

4°. A small hotel or eating house and boarding place, where I got a very good breakfast and dinner the day we arrived.

5°. A Provost-marshal's office.

6°. Hospital.

7°. Another hospital, etc.

It is altogether a very nobby place and has some very pleasant pieces of woods near by. I shall send home to-night or as soon as the Express goes, a box containing five fans made of wood and all cut out of one piece, handle and all. They are made by the rebel prisoners and are very nice pieces of handicraft. You may have your choice of them. They are rather tender and may get broken on the passage, though I shall pack them as carefully as I can. The prisoners also make rings out of buttons or gutta-percha and set little pieces of plate into them; also watch chains, etc., etc. Some of the men have been prisoners for a year or more. I saw one who was taken last 4th of July at Gettysburg. He was working as carpenter on the new hotel. They do not have to work, I believe, unless they want to. If they *do* work for the Government, they get extra rations and perhaps some tobacco. They also work for private individuals and get something extra for it. Rather a contrast to the way our men have been treated in Richmond prisons, isn't it? It is very pleasant however to see these rebels working under the charge of negro guards. My horse got strained in the shoulder up in Virginia and at one time was quite lame. He is much better now and hardly limps at all. Deliver my love impartially.

POINT LOOKOUT, Md., July 6th, 1864.

DEAR FATHER, — In regard to Miss Julia Augusta Rushmore, I wish you to distinctly understand that she and I went down to see the cows milked and not to milk them ourselves. She sat on a stile on one side of the fence and I on the other while a minion

named Winnie milked the bovine animals. Afterwards the punch which was made was the effort of Capt. Parsons et aliorum and not of myself. Henry has been stuffing you, but I should judge that he had been drawing largely on his imagination. Gen. Barnes [1] has arrived here to take command, I understand, and I suppose that we shall have to be reviewed, inspected and tortured in every way his ingenuity can devise to keep us employed. The only objection about this place is that the water is not good at all, giving almost all the diarrhœa. The land is so low that there is not much drainage and so the water gets polluted with the surface water, I suppose.

Point Lookout, July 15th, 1864.

Dear Father, — Day before yesterday, after we had been in camp only ten or twelve days, we were ordered to move. The report was that the rebels were moving down on this point in large force and, as the gunboats wanted to shell across the place where our camp was, the only thing to do was to move our camp, and so we struck our tents after dark and moved down towards the Point inside the stockade which is placed across a narrow neck of land which joins the Point to the main land. The camp in many respects is superior to the old one. It is directly on the seashore. Indeed some of the tents are almost in danger of being washed away at high tide. There is a nice fresh breeze blowing most of the time and does not, as in the other camp fill the place with dust. My health and internal economy have improved very much lately, owing as much as anything, I suppose, to our having fresh milk and berries and very good eating in general, to say nothing of the good effect of port wine, three bottles of which I have already disposed of. A little while ago an orderly came in from the front, (the idea of *our* having a "front" down here in this corner of the world!) announcing that the rebs were within twenty miles of here. Immediately a great hubbub among Headquarters people and a fortification which they are building was immediately hurried up. I guess that it is only a small scare. The *Minnesota,* steam frigate has steamed up abreast the fortification and is prepared to throw broadsides into any rebs that may appear.

Point Lookout, July 23d, 1864.

Dear Mother, — I am writing now at six A.M. before breakfast having had a good bath in the sea and made my toilet. The

[1] James Barnes (d. 1869).

mornings here are quite chilly, in fact my fingers are getting really numb. The sun does not seem to exert much influence till eight or nine o'clock and not always then. Just a year ago yesterday I started from Boston in the *Cahawba* in the 55th regiment. I didn't believe then that the war was going to last as long as it has and at present I don't see much chance of its cessation. However I guess the North can stand the war as long as the South and will not be the first to give in. Yesterday we had an inspection of the regiment by the Inspector General of Gen. Barnes's staff. The men looked as well as could be expected considering the amount of hard duty they have had to perform. Their clothes were pretty dirty and worn but new ones can be got for them and then they will make quite a reputable appearance.

POINT LOOKOUT, Md., July 28th, 1864.

DEAR LUCY, — The monotony of this place was relieved last night by another scare, which originated from a despatch received from our scouts up the country. We got under arms, sent out reinforcements for the pickets and then went to bed. It doesn't take anything at all to get up a scare on the most improved style, rebels and other fixins complete. They have got a court martial going here, of which Henry is President and Chauncey Parsons a member. We have just heard that Capt. Charles F. Adams of the 1st Mass. Cavalry has been appointed our Lieut. Colonel.[1] I suppose that it is Col. Russell's doings, but I should not think that Capt. Adams would wish to join the regiment until it is mounted. Most of the officers of the 1st are delighted to have him come here. There is a good deal of sickness among the troops caused doubtless by the green apples, plums and pears which are brought down from the country by the farmers.

Did you see how well my old regiment did before Charleston? The 1st sergeant of Co. A was wounded and one of the men was killed.

POINT LOOKOUT, Md., Aug. 1st, 1864.

MY DEAR FATHER, — Henry and I went out to ride this afternoon and took tea at a Mr. Ford's house. He gave us some splendid oysters, great big fellows and as fat as could be, and some first-rate bread and butter, to say nothing of *slip*. By the way ask Mother to enlighten me in regard to the fact that our

[1] July 15, 1864, and continued to hold that rank until he was commissioned colonel of the regiment, February 15, 1865.

slip which is made with the rennet is sweet and this slip made by the mere curdling the milk is sour. By the way, that horse of mine has got as hard a will and as hard a mouth as I ever saw on a beast. When he gets on a rampage he cuts up like a parched pea on a hot shovel. Henry is on a court martial and is as lazy as you please. He sits on it for half an hour, (no longer I suppose from fear of injuring it) and then adjourns for three days. Do you hear anything at the North of this regiment being irrevocably turned into infantry? There are rumors here of it. I am inclined to think that there would be few officers remain in such a case. I couldn't stand the service on foot. Upon the whole I am doubtful whether it would be best for Mother and Lucy to come down here. Why don't you try roughing it? I'll give you the use of my tent, bed and slippers. The first has a board floor and carpet (much better than you had when a boy), the 2nd is made of hay loosened up soft every day and the 3d are large enough for you in all conscience sake. So come along down and see your two darling little sons.

Point Lookout, Md., Aug. 3d, 1864.

Dear Mother, — I think that you have come to the best possible decision in regard to coming down here. The accommodation is very limited and the place is unhealthy. The air is fresh and kept cool by the sea breeze, but it is impossible to pen in 10,000 or 12,000 men in such a small space as the prisoners are kept in and not have the air around tainted. Then the ground is low and I have no doubt that in the coming months, there will be more malarial fever than we have at present, though now the hospitals have a great many cases of this disease.

I have taken a step to-day, my dear Mother, which I hope I shall not have to look back upon with regret (or at least with regret for having done wrong). I have sent in my resignation of the commission which I hold in this regiment.[1] I asked Henry's advice and he advised me to this course. At the same time it is impossible to prevent feeling unpleasantly at the thought of leaving the regiment where I have many friends, and especially in giving up Henry's company for the sake of which I left the 55th. I can't help feeling, however, that it is the right course to pursue not on account of myself (for I do not think that I ought to take myself into consideration), but on account of the service. This chronic diarrhœa which I have had now for nearly twelve

[1] His resignation became effective August 23, 1864.

months, seems to take away all the energy which I used to have in bringing my men to the proper state of discipline. I feel weak and tired and the simplest duties seem to require a great exertion, though perhaps after making the necessary exertion, I feel no worse for it. I feel myself that I am unable to properly attend to the duties of a company and this has induced me to resign. I trust you and Father will approve of my decision, which I have made for only the reasons which I have stated. I have not lost so much flesh or muscle as you might expect, but my legs feel the influence of the disease. There is no news here, except that they are building defences round here, and are going to rout us out of this camp to build a fort here.

POINT LOOKOUT, Md., Aug. 6th, 1864.

DEAR FATHER, — I should have written you yesterday to acknowledge the receipt of my papers, if I had not felt too tired, having just come off of Grand Guard over the rebel prisoners. I am very glad that you found them, for it will save great trouble in getting duplicates. The Point received an unaccustomed visitor this morning. A very heavy thunder shower came up just after reveillé and a strong wind from the sea at the same time. The latter I suppose caused a water spout which came just over the end of the Point. It passed over the bow of the boat in which Capts. Kaler and Higginson[1] were embarking but did them no damage. It knocked down a sentry on the wharf and nearly killed him, bending his gun up, and threw planks and hay off the wharf into the water. It demolished the Commissary building, Adams Express Co's abode and two or three small hospital buildings, and then went to sea again. Mr. Pat Jackson with his son arrived last night to see his son the Lieut.[2] I have sent in, in addition to my resignation a surgeon's certificate of my present condition from Dr. Gammell,[3] our chief surgeon.

POINT LOOKOUT, Md., Aug. 7th, 1864.

DEAR MOTHER, — If my resignation goes through quickly, I think I may get North before you leave the beach, but it is very doubtful, for there are [so] very many legal stoppages and very many yards of red tape to be cut that it may be a fortnight before the resignation is accepted, and after that I have got to

[1] Francis Lee Higginson.
[2] Patrick Tracy Jackson (1844–).
[3] Harlow Gamwell is given in the official records.

finish up my accounts, draw my pay, etc. I have no idea of leaving the army for good, but shall try what quiet and rest will do for me in stopping my complaint and then try again. In regard to the tools which the rebs are allowed wherewith to make their fans, I am told that the only instrument used is a knife, so that they would not be able to do much with that. The guards are placed on a platform which runs round on the outside of the fence, some ten or twelve feet from the ground and a knife would be of little use against these. To be sure there are several guards on the ground inside the pen, but these could easily be overpowered, knife or no knife. In the night eight or nine men armed with revolvers patrol the camp, to prevent collections of prisoners or passing from one tent to another. After all, the main reliance is to be placed on the fact that the prisoners as a body seem disinclined to escape. One or two try it now and then and generally get caught for it. Two are in the guard house now for attempting escape. They were caught by our pickets some three or four miles from here. If they should make a concerted attack in order to escape, there would be in the first place the whole guard on the platform in a very short time (160 men) firing into them. Then there are three regiments close by which would be under arms within ten minutes, and ours would come into play in not over fifteen minutes. Then there are four field pieces which would be brought to bear on them, and the iron-clad *Roanoke* and several vessels, which would pitch shell into them without delay.

Point Lookout, Md., August 11th, 1864.

Dear Charlotte, — I have as yet heard nothing from my resignation. I only know that it has been sent up to Washington with Gen. Barnes's approval. I am glad to see that both Father and Mother consider that I acted properly in resigning. I couldn't see that there was anything else to do. I am acting as Field Officer of the Day, whose duty it is to ride round and round the point from morning to night and from night till morning, with an orderly tagging on behind. One of our men shot a rebel prisoner the other day for refusing to obey the prescribed regulations. The officer of the guard entirely exonerated the man from blame yet he was put in the guard house and still continues there. It is a pretty way to urge men to do their duty.

POINT LOOKOUT, Md., August 14th, 1864.

DEAR FATHER, — Nothing has been heard of my resignation. I had a letter from Uncle Henry approving decidedly of my course which is satisfactory, as well in a medical point of view as otherwise. I guess that two or three months at the North will give me all the strength and health that I need, and I have no doubt that some opportunity will offer at the end of that time so that I can resume the vocation of a warrior, unless indeed old Sherman and Farragut conclude with Grant that the rebellion shall be squelched by that time. Jolly news from Mobile, is it not? After Farragut gets through with that city he had better try his hand at Charleston and Savannah. He seems to be the only man capable of running iron-clads and wooden vessels past forts and through obstructions, to say nothing of taking forts and batteries. Farragut is as certainly our naval hero as Grant is our military one. We expect Major Adams down here to-morrow night. I shall be very glad to see him again, for, though he is rather quick in his manner, he has always been very kind and pleasant to me. How is Col. Russell coming on? I hope he will recover soon so that he may come here, for the regiment needs him exceedingly. Lieut. Cook of Co. D. has tendered his resignation on account of disability, and the Major, I understand approved it, " for the good of the service." The 139th Ohio National Guards are expected to leave here on Tuesday or Wednesday, their time having expired (100-day men). Some 35,000 were raised in Ohio within a fortnight or three weeks. They are a very fine set of men indeed and, if brought under proper discipline, would make magnificent troops. The officers, however, are altogether too free with their men, which is natural indeed, on account of their friends and neighbors. Henry seems to be in fine health and persists in endangering his life and sometimes mine by going out to sail in a dug-out which he has rigged up with a sail.

POINT LOOKOUT, Md., August 14th, 1864.

DEAR MOTHER, — No news of my resignation. Lieut. Whittemore has been detailed as Commissary of prisoners, which leaves me to do all the duties of the company, as my 1st Lieut, has been detailed away from the company almost all the time since we left Readville. This system of detailing officers is carried to an outrageous extent. Three officers are none too many to take charge of a company. From our regiment at the present time there are detailed away from the regiment, so that they do not attend to

regimental duties, the following officers: four on court martial, one on building stables, one as Ass't Provost Marshal, one as Ordnance officer, one as Commissary of prisoners, one as Recruiting officer, one on Gen. Barnes's staff, while eleven are sick or away from the regiment, and there are two or three vacancies, making twenty-three or twenty-four officers who are unable to do any duty in this camp. Major Adams arrived last night, and was met by the band and a large delegation of officers.

EDGEWOOD, Md., Aug. 19th, 1864.

DEAR PA, — I have left Point Lookout, but not for good. I intend to go back there on Wednesday and shall go with Capt. Parker on board his flag-ship the *Don*, (captured blockade runner). He is a very pleasant man. I went to Washington to-day to get my pay, but not a pay did I get. I find that I have been legally nothing but a poor confounded, miserable second Lieutenant all the time that I was in the 55th regiment.[1] This was owing to the mistake which Lieut. McKibben, the mustering officer, made in my papers in June and July, 1863. However I expect to have this matter all settled to-morrow by a special order from the Adjutant General's office ordering a new muster. I met in the Adjutant General's office, an Ass't Adjutant General, Capt. Taggard[2] by name, a Boston fellow who was very polite and interested himself very much in my case and expects to clear it up to-morrow. My resignation was sent back to Gen. Barnes with the endorsement that a certificate of non-indebtedness for ordnance stores was desired, on the receipt of which my resignation would be accepted. Gen. Barnes telegraphed to Gen. Augur[3] for leave for me to go to Washington to settle up my accounts. So Gen. A. sent down to Gen. B. that I might come or go. So I came or went. To-morrow I go to Washington to finish the business, which however may last till over Monday. On Wednesday I go down to Point Lookout to bring up all my traps. On Thursday night I expect to return and shall leave for Boston on Friday morning.

[1] He is recorded as 2d lieut., May 23, 1863, the date of muster, 1st lieut., June 7, 1863, and captain, June 29, 1863.

[2] Frank W. Taggard.

[3] Christopher Colon Augur (d. 1898).

EDGEWOOD, Aug. 21st (Sunday), 1864.

DEAR MOTHER, — I went to Washington on Friday morning and proceeded to the Pay Department where, after waiting a while, they asked me if I could show any rolls proving that I had been mustered into service as 1st Lieut. and Captain. I had none and told him that Lieut. McKibben had told me that this was not necessary, since I had held the commissions of 2nd and 1st Lieut. and Captain in the same company and regiment. They told me that this was a mistake, and that I ought to have been mustered out and again mustered in to the higher grade. Therefore they could only recognize me as 2nd Lieut. and pay me as such. It is unnecessary to say that I couldn't see this and, at the Chief Clerk's instigation, I went up to the Adjutant General's office. I was informed there that the muster rolls were informal and that there would have to be a letter issued from the Adjutant General's department rectifying this mistake. Capt. Taggard was very kind and said that he would see that this should be all right if I called in on Saturday. I then went to the Ordnance office and handed in my returns for settlement. I was told to call in here Saturday and that I should receive my certificate for non-indebtedness which is necessary for my discharge. I didn't know that it was necessary to do the same with my Quartermaster's accounts. So having spent my time pretty clean up I returned to Edgewood to pass the night. On yesterday morning I went again to Washington. I went to the Adjutant General's office and found that the order for my musters has been issued and that the Paymaster would receive notice of it in the course of the morning. Then I went to the Ordnance office for my certificate, but was unable to get it, owing to some of my previous returns not having been received at the Ordnance department but were lost on the way. So I was told that I should have to make out another set and of course I could not do that till Monday. Then I handed in my returns to the Quartermaster's department and was told to return on Monday for my certificate. Then in the course of the morning I went to the Paymaster's office and found that the order had been received. Then I was sent to a Mr. White, to find out whether I had ever been paid, and he sent me to another cuss and he told Mr. White and Mr. White told the Chief Clerk that I never had been paid. So the Chief Clerk said I might be paid and sent me to Mr. Webb to make up my account, and Mr. Webb wrote something and set me down to Major Hutchins the paymaster to have my accounts made up there. Major H. sent me up to get Mr. Brooke's (the Chief Clerk's) signature,

endorsing what Mr. Webb had written. This I obtained and returned to Major H. and had my pay rolls made out. This was after office hours and so to-morrow morning I go to Washington and receive from Maj. H. a check on the treasurer of the U. S. for $988.15, which order I shall then present to the Treasurer who will give me the greenbacks.[1]

FLETCHER WEBSTER [2] TO GEORGE HARRINGTON [3]

BOSTON, April 21, 1851.

Private and Confidential.

MY DEAR SIR,— Let me, *imprimis,* offer you my hearty congratulations upon your appointment as Chief Clerk of the Treasury Dept.

I trust it is but one step in a long and lucky upward and onward career.

With this brief respect, let me to business, for you are a man of despatch.

I am informed that you have all the correspondence between Mr. Rockwell [4] and Mr. Greely in relation to the pay of the aids of the Revenue.

Pray read it over and then try to get Mr. Corwin's [5] attention to it. He does not know I am persuaded what a feeling the proceeding creates.

The Commissioners' instructions that they shall refund the extra dollar is really barbarous, even if they were illegally paid to that amount.

[1] I well remember the exasperating nature of the work in getting my pay and my accounts settled. There was one officer in the Quartermaster's department, who was very insulting. I got into an altercation with him and he called in his clerks and ordered them to put me out. They did not try to do so but waited till I had finished telling the officer that he was no gentleman and finally when I was going over to another part of the building to settle the accounts, I was overtaken by a clerk who had a lot of papers in his hand and who told me that I had better take out mine, since thus I should be able to put them through better. I heard later from Capt. William Perkins that the clerks were delighted at the row, since the officer was a mean tyrant and was disliked by every one under him. It did seem as if every obstacle was offered to an honest man to make it hard to settle his accounts. — C. P. B.

[2] (1813–1862.) Surveyor of the Port and Inspector of the Revenue for the port of Boston, continued by the Senate March 1, 1850. He was nominated on the same day, as D. Fletcher Webster.

[3] Harrington in March, became Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

[4] Charles W. Rockwell, of Connecticut, who had been nominated March 13, 1849, to be Commissioner of Customs.

[5] Thomas Corwin (1794–1865), Secretary of the Treasury.

It would ruin the whole of them. I am as well satisfied that, *by law,* they are entitled to their *three* dollars as I am that they are entitled to one cent.

If you will take hold and have this fixed for the aids, you will do a good thing, and they shall know to whom they are indebted. They want me to come on, but I had rather you should do it than any one else.

Mr. Corwin gave me to hope that I might have an extra clerk. Mr. Hodge, during Mr. Corwin's illness, decided that I should *not* have one.

I don't like this.

It makes no difference to Gov'm't, for if I don't have a clerk I must detail an *Inspector,* or an aid.

And one thing more, wont Mr. Corwin authorize the Collector to pay my Deputy and Clerks the money retained by Govmt on Mr. Neil's account, which is due them for their services.

It is really very hard upon them to refuse them what equitably is theirs.

These sort of things and such instruction as we have received about the Aids do not *help the Adminstration* by any manner of means, and we want all our strength here next fall.

How about Woodman as Appraiser?

I believe him to be the fittest and best man. He is a right down Union Whig, a very respectable man and a clever fellow.

I hope all our friends are well.

I should be very glad to hear from you, and if I can do anything let me know. Yours very truly,

FLETCHER WEBSTER [1]

FLETCHER WEBSTER TO JOHN P. HEALY [2]

Head Quarters 12th Regt., M. V.,
Camp near SENECA,
Nov. 5th, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR, — I was pained to learn by a letter from Mrs. Webster of the death of your Father.[3]

I am aware that he had attained an advanced age and was quite enfeebled, but the loss is always great of so dear and venerated a relative. The departure of a person to whom one has

[1] From the collection of William K. Bixby.

[2] John Plummer Healy (1810–1882).

[3] Joseph Healy (1776–1861), a native of Massachusetts, but removed to New Hampshire.

been accustomed to look for advice and counsel; whose good opinion and approbation formed a standard by which you could judge of the merit or demerit of your own actions, and which, acquired, the opinions of others seemed of little regard; a friend, a father and a kind judge; such a loss must always be deeply felt, at whatever period it may come.

You have my hearty sympathy.

I have sent home by Dr. Clarke,[1] City Physician, a little package for Mrs. F. W. If you choose to take the trouble to open it, you will see a photograph of my log Cabin at Muddy Branch, where we were encamped previous to our late foolish march to Edward's Ferry.

The men built it in two days, and we had been in it three. It is now occupied by Gen. Williams[2] of Michigan, an old friend of mine when I lived West.

We shall soon go into winter quarters, I suppose.

They will probably be near Frederick, in this State, on the line of the Rail Road; there we can draw supplies conveniently from East and West, and the surrounding country is fertile.

Frederic[k] itself is quite a place.

But it is remarkable that having been in Maryland now for four months I have not seen an educated gentleman, not one.

Fine large farms in corn and wheat, beautiful forests and streams, but the people are widely scattered, ignorant, and vulgar.

Log houses prevail, which have remained unaltered and unimproved for fifty and sixty years.

Not a book except some quaint, old-fashioned devotional volumes, or things left by Colporteurs; tracts and such like, and these very rare. A newspaper, a magazine, never.

The richest farmer will board any one, officer or soldier, and his wife and daughters wait on table.

Some of them dine fifty men a day. They send their sons and their negroes to Camp with milk, butter, mutton, bread, cakes, pies, etc., etc., greedy for money and sharpers in their charges.

If they ask you to dine they expect half a dollar to pay for it. Such is this part of Maryland as I have seen it from Rockville to Harpers Ferry. It is of little consequence, except in a geographical point of view, whether they belong to one side or the other.

If five hundred Yankee farmers could get here, they would make an Eden of the region.

[1] Henry G. Clark, of Boston.

[2] Alpheus Starkey Williams (1810–1878).

Our regiment is generally well. The late rains have wet us through a little, but our men bear all things cheerfully. We have fireplaces and ovens and some have brush houses.

I have a famous fireplace in my tent and as I now write, it rains hard. I am sitting over it, facing the open tent door and looking due North.

We shall soon move our camp to a Southern exposure, somewhere.

Please give my best regards to Mrs. Healy and my love to Joe.[1]

Kind remembrances to Col. Burbank,[2] Mr. Thomas[3] and other friends in your and his office, and I am yours very truly,

FLETCHER WEBSTER.

Hd. Qurs. 12th Regt., Mass. Vols.,
WARRENTON, Va.,
July 21, '62.

I thank you, my dear Healy, for your note of the 15th inst.

I have no words to describe the grief which I feel; my dear little daughter!

I must learn to bear it as well as I can, all by myself.

I thank you and Mrs. Healy for your warm sympathy, which I know we have.

That which you relate of dear Josey[1] is most affecting. The dear good boy! Julia was very fond of him; her sister used to try and tease her a little about him, sometimes, but she avowed her regard so honestly that it did not succeed.

I used to like to see them together; such a nice, bright, good little couple. God bless and preserve your dear boy.

I hope to be at home for a few days, and of course shall see you.

I hope you will let Josey stay as long as he can in the country. I want to see him as fat and strong as Bertie.[4]

My kindest regards to Mrs. Healy and my love to him, and I am Yr's always truly,

FLETCHER WEBSTER.[5]

[1] Joseph Healy (1849–1878).
[2] Robert G. Burbank.
[3] Seth J. Thomas.
[4] Ashburton Webster, died 1879.
[5] Col. Webster was killed at the second battle of Bull Run, August 30, 1862.

Abigail Adams to Elbridge Gerry [1]

Quincy, December 31, 1796.

Dear Sir, — Your obliging favour of December 28th I received by the hand of Dr. Welch.[2] I thank you, sir, for your congratulations, which receive their value from the sincerity with which I believe them fraught. The elevated station in which the suffrages of our country have placed our friend [3] is encompassed with so many dangers and difficulties that it appears to me a slipery precipice, surrounded on all sides with rocks, shoals and quicksands. There is not any man in whom again can be united such an assemblage of fortunate circumstances to combine all hearts in his favour; and every voice in unison, as has been the singular lot of the President of the United States, yet even he, with the full tide of favour and affection, has tasted the bitter cup of calumny and abuse, an imported cup, a foreign mixture, a poison so subtle as to have infected even native Americans, what must a successor expect who has near half the country opposed to his election, as well as all the friends of the rival candidates mortified at their defeat?

You, sir, have been too long conversant in publick life, and full well know the pangs and heartaches to which it is subject, not personally to risk commiseration with your congratulations.

At my time of life the desire and wish to shine in publick life is wholly extinguished.

Retirement to Peace Field, (the name which Mr. Adams has given to his farm) is much more eligible to me, particularly as my health has severely suffered by my residence at Philadelphia; but personally I shall consider myself as the small dust of the balance, when compared to the interests of a nation. To preserve peace, to support order, and continue to the country that system of Government under which it has become prosperous and happy, the sacrifice of an individual life, important only to its near connections, ought not to be taken into consideration.

I fully agree with you in sentiment as it respects the election of Mr. Jefferson. I have long known him, and entertain for him a personal friendship, and tho I cannot accord with him in some of his politicks, I do not believe him culpable to the extent he has been represented. Placed at the head of the Senate, I trust his conduct will be wise and prudent, and hope it will be a means

[1] From the collection of William K. Bixby.
[2] Dr. Thomas Welsh.
[3] John Adams.

of softening the animosity of party and of cementing and strengthening the bond of union.

There never was any publick or private animosity between Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson. Upon the subject of Pain's *Rights of Man* there was a disagreement in sentiment. Mr. Jefferson "does not look quite thro the deeds of men." Time has fully disclosed whose opinion was well founded.

The gentleman[1] *you alluded to as an active agent* in the election has no doubts his views and designs. There are some characters more supple than others, more easily wrought upon, more accommodating, more complying. Such a person might be considered as the ostensible engine which a Master Hand could work. To what other motive can be ascribed the Machiavelian policy of placing at the head of the Government a gentleman not particularly distinguished for any important services to his country, and scarcely heard of beyond the State which gave him birth until sent upon a publick embassy.[2]

I feel, sir, when addressing you, the confidence of an old friend, and that an apology is unnecessary for the freedom of communication.

Be pleased to present my compliments to Mrs. Gerry. It would give me pleasure to receive a friendly visit from her and from you. I am, dear sir, with sentiments of respect and esteem, Your friend and humble servant,

ABIGAIL ADAMS.

PRIVATEERING AGREEMENT, 1701.[3]

Know all Men that I John Tredwen[4] being bound out a upon the Present Expedition of Warre a gainst the french and Spaniards in the Sloope fling horse [*Flying Horse*] Samll Chadwell[5] comdr Where as that Henry Sharpe of Salem Painter hath sufficiently fitted Me with Armes and Amonition with a good gone Pestoll Pollex or Sord Catnel boex Pouder bulotts sufficntly I therfore due Ingage My self to Pay unto the said Sharpe his hairs or A sines on holl quarter Part of a holle Shere or Sheres that shall Shere a pon this Present Expidition In the said Sloope, and if Whe

[1] Alexander Hamilton.

[2] Thomas Pinckney.

[3] From the Jeffries Papers, XXIII. 115.

[4] In another document of the same year, the name is spelled Trequin.

[5] A similar agreement, made by George Foster in Mar. 1703, for the same vessel, gives John Abbot as commander and Timothy Worsisner as quartermaster.

should Make no Wage the Armes to be delevered to the said Sharpe A gain Excepte being taeking so that they Cannot be Purduesed and if the a bouef said Tredwen should Make on hondred Pound Sheere then all the a bouef said Armes is to said Tred[wen] to him sellef and not to be Retorned but Outher waise to be Retorned as abouef said as Wittness wherof I hauef here unto sett my hand and sell this 20 day of Juenry 1702/3.

Samll Wakefield
John Russell.

The Marck of
John × Tredwen

James Sullivan to Henry Dearborn.[1]

Boston, 2d April, 1808.

Sir, — The inclosed cessions are such as have been required of our government. It is my duty to send them to you; but I do it as a duty without any expectations of a salutary effect. The plan of reuniting the northern part of the united states with great britain has been long observed and spoken of by me. I have not had, nor can I now obtain the attention of heads of departments, of men of influence, or men of power on the subject. The object, as it is made with them, now is, to federalize the Government of Massachusetts; by this to controul the election of President, federalize that election, and break up the national institution. In the former they will fail I am satisfied for the present year; but the conduct of the republicans is such, as must make this their last year in this state. they are bringing up the yazoo claim, etc., against a President from virginia. they are perswading the people that there must [be] a president in the northern part of the union. They name Clinton, now, with that insidiousness which they commonly practise; but as soon as they have raised an opinion in favour of a President in the northern part of the union, Clinton will be too old and King will be their man. As to myself, I stand a candidate to prevent a division in the republican interest; but at present, though I should have a handsome majority, as I believe I shall have, for governour, I am determined to decline to be qualified. I am, etc.

James Sullivan.

[1] Given by Mr. Frederic Amory.

PROFILES TAKEN.

THE *subscriber* respectfully professes to take *Profiles* plain and shaded, which viewed at right angles with the serious countenance, is warranted to be infallibly correct.

Terms for cut and person shaded 37½ cents.
Cut plain 25

No trouble of adorning or dressing the person is required. He takes infants and children at sight, and has frames of all sizes to accommodate.

He also takes in Paint, *Side View Miniatures* and frames them elegantly for $3.

Those ladies and gentlemen not too remote will be called upon at their dwellings, or an order directing where to call, and the time when, left at [illegible]
will be duly attended to
by their humble serv't.
William Banton?

P. S. A profile is a delineated *outline* of the exterior form of any person's face and head the use of which when seen, tends to vivify the affections of those whom we esteem or love.

MEMOIR

OF

SAMUEL WALKER McCALL

By LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO

It is not unusual for the people of Massachusetts to elect to the highest office of their commonwealth a man born beyond the limits of the state. John D. Long was a native of the State of Maine; Vermont produced both E. N. Foss and Calvin Coolidge; and New Hampshire, Benjamin F. Butler, J. Q. A. Brackett, and Channing H. Cox. Each of our neighbors on the south has contributed one. But from John Hancock's time down to the present year there have been but three non-New Englanders in the governor's chair. One of the three to achieve that distinction was Samuel Walker McCall; yet so well did he play the part of a Yankee that few of his fellow-citizens remembered, if indeed they ever knew, that his background was not the same as theirs.

The McCalls were a Pennsylvania family of Scottish extraction. When their ancestors migrated to the American colonies we do not know; presumably it was before the Revolution, for Governor McCall's great-grandfather fought and fell at Brandywine in 1777. But from the Scottish surname it does not necessarily follow that the ancestry of Governor McCall was exclusively Scottish. It was quite the reverse. His paternal grandmother, whom he resembled strikingly in feature, was Pennsylvania Dutch; and his mother and his mother's mother bore names that suggest purely English families.

Henry McCall, the father of Samuel, was a fairly well-to-do resident of East Providence, Bedford County, Penn-

sylvania. His wife, Mary Ann Elliott, was the daughter of the high sheriff of a neighboring county. The future governor of Massachusetts was the sixth of their eleven children — seven sons and four daughters — and he was born at East Providence on February 28, 1851. Two years later his father transported himself, his family, and his capital consisting of eight or nine thousand dollars in gold down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to Mount Carroll, Illinois, which is not far from the Wisconsin boundary. There he invested some of his money in large tracts of prairie land and some in the manufacture of stoves, ploughs, and farm machinery. Then came hard times. The panic of 1857 obliged him to close his factory. His land he had mortgaged in order to invest in a railroad which should make Mt. Carroll more accessible. The railroad was not a success, and Henry McCall, like many of his neighbors, found himself in straitened circumstances. Soon after the Civil War broke out he moved a short distance out of town and took up farming. So it came about that Samuel McCall spent his boyhood and early youth on an Illinois farm. In agriculture his father prospered once more, and Governor McCall's memories of that period of his life were, as boyhood memories should be, always happy.

"There were neighbors on one side of us," he wrote in after years, "and a great open prairie on the other. The fragrance of the wild flowers, roses among the rest, is with me yet. Barefooted, I walked through the native grass, which was so tall that it reached to my neck. I saw blue-racers and now and then passed the brown nest of a prairie chicken, which I only discovered when the hen rose and beat a tattoo of retreat with her wings. The air was as transparent as plate glass and full of tonic and sunlight. I have loved the prairies ever since."

About 1867 the Mount Carroll Seminary which Samuel McCall had been attending was turned into a school for girls, and consequently Mr. and Mrs. McCall were confronted with a serious problem. Where should Samuel continue his education? A neighbor who had migrated from New England had much to say in favor of an academy "back East" at New Hampton in New Hampshire. The

boy seems to have been the first to be attracted by the suggestion. Gradually he interested his parents in it, and on a Monday morning in 1867 Samuel, then a lad of sixteen, started on his journey to unknown New England.

The instruction at the New Hampton Institution was well above the average even for New England. The principal was Dr. A. B. Meservey, a well-known teacher in his day, and his staff included George C. Chase, who later became president of Bates College. With Mr. Chase McCall studied Latin and Greek. Another member of the faculty, Mr. John H. Rand, was for a number of years at the head of the department of mathematics at Bates. The boy from Illinois learned easily, and in three years' time was ready for college. Other things being equal Dartmouth was the logical college for a graduate of an up-state New Hampshire academy to favor in 1870, and to Dartmouth McCall went in the autumn of that year.

In college he made a good record as a student, especially as a student of the classics, and in his senior year he was ranked second among the sixty or more members of the Class of 1874. That class is notable for the number of men it has contributed to the bench and bar and political life of New England. Besides Governor McCall the list includes Frank N. Parsons, chief justice of New Hampshire, Edwin G. Eastman, attorney general of that state for twenty years, John A. Aiken, chief justice of the superior court of Massachusetts, and Samuel L. Powers, a well-known congressman from Massachusetts. For extra-curricular activities McCall turned his energy toward rowing, debating, and journalism. In the early '70s Dartmouth decided to be represented in the annual collegiate regatta held at Springfield. A rowing club was formed, and of this association McCall was successively vice-president and president. Of greater significance was his connection with the Dartmouth *Anvil,* a college paper that did not limit itself to college affairs. The journal was appropriately named, yet in spite of the inevitable undergraduate cocksureness which pervaded its editorials it was in many ways a truly commendable sheet. Besides giving college and local news it summarized the events of the outside world and reviewed the more important of the new

books. McCall was not a founder of the *Anvil*. Some members of the Class of 1873 are entitled to that distinction. But he became the editor-in-chief in his senior year, with Parsons, Powers, and Aiken on the board. Even the best of undergraduate publications are likely to get into hot water; also into debt. The *Anvil* did both. Consequently when the faculty suppressed it because of some reflections it cast upon a local bank, the editors were obliged to give their personal notes for its indebtedness. This was a wholesome experience, no doubt, but it was a number of years before McCall could pay off his note and the overwhelming interest which had accrued.

One of McCall's early heroes was Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, and he had arranged to study law in Mr. Trumbull's office in Chicago after graduating from college. But for one reason and another he changed his plans. Instead of going to Chicago, he and his classmate Samuel Powers read law at Nashua, New Hampshire, and at Worcester, Massachusetts. In 1875 they were admitted to the Massachusetts bar and formed a temporary partnership. Mr. McCall's progress in building up a practice was slow, but his name became more or less familiar to the public through his writings on topics of biographical and political interest. These appeared from time to time in newspapers and magazines. Perhaps his most noteworthy effort was "A Plea for a Strong Navy" which was published in the *Penn Monthly* (Philadelphia) in 1881.

Among the students at the New Hampton academy when Samuel McCall attended it was Ella Esther Thompson, whose family, coming originally from Plymouth County, Massachusetts, then lived in Vermont. Her father, Sumner Shaw Thompson, was a successful business-man and banker, and as generous as he was prosperous. In 1881 Mr. McCall married Miss Thompson and they made their home in Winchester, Massachusetts. Six years later the Winchester-Arlington district sent him to the Legislature as its representative, re-electing him in 1889 and again in 1892. In 1888 Mr. McCall was a delegate to the National Republican Convention. In that year, too, he and William E. Barrett and Henry Parkman bought the Boston *Daily Advertiser*

and the *Record*. Mr. McCall became the editor-in-chief of the *Advertiser*, a strongly Republican newspaper. Mr. McCall's election to Congress in 1892 was a tribute to the excellent record he had made in the Massachusetts Legislature. Winchester was the smallest town in the Eighth District, which included Cambridge, Somerville, and the Back Bay wards of Boston. But it contained the most promising Republican possibility. In the state elections of that year this district gave a majority of its votes to William E. Russell, the Democratic candidate for governor; but in the national elections it gave a much larger majority to Samuel Walker McCall, the Republican candidate for Congressman.

For twenty consecutive years Mr. McCall represented the Eighth District in the national House. Nominated by the Republicans and elected by a majority of the voters in a Massachusetts district, he was nevertheless a very independent member of Congress. His point of view was neither that of party nor of state. As he himself phrased it, he always treated the commission of his constituents as "a mandate to serve the whole country." In other words his attitude was not that of a Republican serving local interests, but that of a statesman concerned with the welfare of the American nation. The independence of utterance and of action which characterized his career in Congress was the natural result of this point of view. It did not endear him to leaders of the Republican party, but there can be little doubt that it met with the approval of his constituents. In every election year from 1892 till 1912 he was renominated by acclamation and elected by gratifying majorities. In 1899 Mr. McCall was appointed a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, and he continued to hold that important position as long as he remained in Congress.

Perhaps one of the best instances of his independence was his attitude toward the Dingley Tariff in 1897. He believed in protection and had given an admirable defense of that policy in a speech before the House in 1893. But some duties imposed by the Dingley Bill he considered too high to benefit the country in the long run, and in the debate upon this measure he did not hesitate to say so.

Our manufacturers and our business men want a tariff law that will stand. They are weary of being forever upon the rack, of passing through the crucible of tariff agitation every four years, and of having the price of every article of the commerce and trade of this great country constantly in danger of change by tariff legislation. . . . If a given industry is established here, if we have natural advantages for carrying it on, then the amount of protection which can fairly be asked is a duty which will suffice to cover the difference in the labor and other cost of producing the article here and producing it abroad, and a slight additional margin to protect our producers in times of industrial depression or over-production abroad. If you go beyond that, you are liable to drift upon the rocks of extortion, of monopoly, and ultimately of Populism.

When President McKinley, worn down with care and indecision turned over to Congress the question of further diplomatic negotiation with Spain in April, 1898, Mr. McCall was one of the six Representatives who voted against the resolution that led directly to war. He differed from his party again upon the Philippine question. Averse to the annexation of the islands in the first place, he was ever afterward eager for their self-government. Most courageous of all, perhaps, was his opposition to the Hepburn Act, the "railroad rate bill" of 1906, which gave the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to determine rates to be charged by the railroads. This measure, he believed, involved a serious encroachment upon American liberty. He spoke against it with eloquent conviction and was one of the seven members of the House of Representatives who voted against it. Another of that small band was John W. Weeks, then representing the Twelfth Massachusetts District.

Mr. McCall was not a frequent speaker in the House. He usually saved his ammunition for questions involving fundamentals. On these matters, after careful study and thoughtful reflection, he made speeches that were remarkable for their logic, their force, and their elegance of expression. If those utterances were as effective when heard in the legislative hall as they are when read from the printed page they cannot have been without influence upon the opinions and votes of his hearers.

When the presidency of Dartmouth College was about to be vacated in 1908, there was a strong sentiment among Dartmouth men — trustees, faculty, and alumni in general — that Mr. McCall would be an excellent successor to President Tucker. His suitability for the office was conceded on all sides, and although he had never thought of a college presidency for himself he now found it an attractive possibility. Many of his friends, among them Richard Olney, urged him to accept the offer. Others of equal eminence and wisdom expressed their hope that he would not bury his talent at Hanover when it might be "exercised in the larger field of Massachusetts and on the theatre of Washington." On Washington's Birthday in 1909 Mr. McCall, in an admirable letter, asked the trustees not to consider his name when the time should come for choosing a president for the college. "The work which I am trying to do was not entered upon by accident," he wrote, "and if I have not pursued it with success it at least is not because my vows were lightly taken. And since I did not lightly take it up, I cannot, in what I believe to be a very grave crisis, drop it easily and shift to something else. I may be accomplishing little of value, but I happen to be on the battle-line, and I should, indeed, be a sorry soldier nicely to weigh causes and to decide at this moment to step out of the ranks."

In "the ranks" Congressman McCall remained four years more, thus rounding out two decades at Washington. From all appearances he might have continued to serve his district for the remainder of his life. In the summer of 1912, however, he announced his decision not to be a candidate for the House of Representatives at the approaching election; but he took care to add, "I have another ambition, not unworthy, I trust, to serve you in another capacity, concerning which I shall make a definite announcement at a suitable time." As Senator Crane had already made known his intention to retire from the Senate, this suggestion could be interpreted in only one way: Mr. McCall would like to be his successor. Prior to May 31, 1913, the election of senators still rested with the state legislatures. When the Massachusetts Legislature assembled in the following Jan-

uary the contest in the Republican caucus was long and exciting. At the end of the third day the requisite two-thirds majority in favor of Mr. McCall seemed to be in sight. But on the fourth day the thirty-first ballot gave the senatorial nomination — and consequently the election — to John W. Weeks.

To exaggerate the depth of Mr. McCall's disappointment would be well-nigh impossible. From early youth he had been attracted by the personalities and achievements of two Massachusetts Senators, Daniel Webster and Rufus Choate. It was natural, almost inevitable perhaps, that as his own political career progressed he should set his heart more and more upon being a Senator from Massachusetts. Up to this point Fortune had seemed to favor his aspiration. Behind him was a distinguished record of twenty years in the House of Representatives. Just ahead was an unexpected opening in the Senate. He was an experienced public servant, a scholar, and an eloquent speaker. Then what might have been the crown of his career was given to another. The result was a feeling of resentment that was as unfortunate as it was intense.

His hold upon the people of Massachusetts was unshaken, indeed it may have been strengthened, by his defeat in the senatorial caucus, and he was put forward by his party as its candidate for governor in 1914. In that year he failed of election, but in 1915 he received a tremendous vote and was inaugurated in the following January. Governor McCall was an able and dignified chief executive of Massachusetts. His countenance, his bearing, his manner were in accordance with the best traditions of his office. The vigor with which he had fought his battles on Capitol Hill may have been less apparent on Beacon Hill, yet none can deny that the convention which prepared amendments calculated to adjust the state constitution to present day conditions and theories was largely due to his earnest exhortation.

While Mr. McCall was governor, in 1918, the time for another senatorial election approached. Mr. Weeks announced his candidacy for renomination at the primaries to be held in September. Admirers of Mr. McCall, and they

were many, urged him to compete with Mr. Weeks for the Republican nomination. At first the governor was inclined to do so; but it was not long before he withdrew from the contest, and Mr. Weeks became the Republican candidate. The Democratic nominee was David I. Walsh, whose candidacy was made strong by President Wilson's endorsement and his own personal popularity. A third candidate came into the field, Thomas W. Lawson, Independent, whose daughter was the wife of Governor McCall's son. In the ensuing election Lawson secured 21,985 votes. Walsh was elected over Weeks by a majority of 19,191. At that time many Republicans felt that Mr. McCall could have dissuaded the third candidate from taking part in the campaign, and that if he had done so Mr. Weeks would have been re-elected. Upon reflection, however, one is inclined to agree with Mr. McCall, who declared that no one could influence, much less control, Mr. Lawson's course.

Mr. McCall was a man of scholarly tastes. His love for the classics is evident in almost everything he wrote. In modern literature, history and poetry were his favorite fields. He wrote two biographies: *Thaddeus Stevens* and *The Life of Thomas Brackett Reed*. His literary style was more than readable; it was engaging. And these works are happy examples of the successful combining of history and literature. In the winter of 1908–09, Mr. McCall, while still a member of Congress, delivered a series of lectures at Columbia University. These were collected and published under the title of *The Business of Congress*. It is an informing and thought-provoking treatise on the function and procedure of our national legislature. Enlightening at the time of its publication it will doubtless be useful to future historians as a careful survey of certain aspects of our government made by a reflective congressman in the first decade of this century.

The constant restriction of American liberty by American government was a tendency which Governor McCall recognized early and combated to the end. He sounded a warning in his speech against the railroad rate bill in 1905, and he enlarged upon the theme in a group of lectures at Yale ten

years later. *The Liberty of Citizenship* was the title he gave to these lectures when published in book form. Their essence is contained in the following passage:

> Those who confuse liberty with democracy are prone to decide that whatever fetters democracy may fasten upon man, he still remains free. But freedom to man in society consists in his right to use his faculties and to profit by their use, subject to the equal right of other men to do likewise, and it is the important function of the State to restrain only such exercise of his faculties by man as may injure others. With this qualification freedom should be safeguarded, not merely because it is a right of the individual man, but because its enjoyment by developing enterprise has been the great agency in pushing forward civilization. And men should be permitted to build up their characters in the only way in which strong characters can be built, not in the stifling hothouse of governmental restraint, but in the free and open fields played upon by the sunshine and beaten by winds and storms.

When Samuel Walker McCall died at Winchester, November 4, 1923, righteousness, independence, and liberty lost a fearless champion and an eloquent spokesman.

JUNE MEETING

THE stated meeting of the Society was held in the Dowse Library on Thursday, 12 June, at three o'clock in the afternoon, First Vice-President LORD in the chair.

The record of the May Meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Frederick L. Gay, through Mr. John H. Edmonds, Zerubbabel Endecott's manuscript book of remedies, 1677; original letters and transcripts, made for Mr. Gay, of Sedgwick and Leverett papers on the expedition against the Dutch at Manhattoes, 1654, the Port Royal expedition of 1654–55, the taking of French forts in America, and the Jamaica expedition, 1655–56; also an account of Acadia, and copies of letters of Count d'Estrades, 1662.

From Hon. Percival P. Baxter, of Maine, a volume of transcripts of documents relating to the provisions under the will of the late James Phinney Baxter, a Corresponding Member of the Society, for the erection of "A New England Pantheon" to "commemorate the Lives and Deeds of the Founders of New England."

From Mrs. Artemas Ward Lamson, of Dedham, a folio manuscript volume, 1775–1777, containing the orderly book of Gen. Artemas Ward, kept by his secretary, Joseph Ward, from April 20, 1775, to March 20, 1777, general orders, July 29, 1775, to April 4, 1776, and his letter book, April 6, 1776, to March 3, 1777.

From Miss Elizabeth Gaskell Norton, further valuable additions to the papers of the Sedgwick family, 1783 to 1851, containing account-books, journals and letter-books of Theodore Sedgwick, and Theodore Sedgwick, Jr.

From James B. Wilbur, a letter of James Bowdoin to Benjamin Lincoln, Boston, February 28, 1787, on Shays' Rebellion.

From Eugene E. Prussing, a photographic copy of George Washington's first Report as President of the Potomac Company, Alexandria, August 7, 1786.

From George Simpson Eddy, of New York, a photostat copy of John Temple's letter to Franklin, Amsterdam July 26, 1781 and of two letters of Franklin to Washington, and to Jefferson,

Passy, May 6, 1782, introducing George Grieve, the translator of Chastellux's Travels in North America.

From Wilberforce Eames, a photostat copy of an elegiac poem on the Battle of Bunker Hill.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Miss Elizabeth Gaskell Norton, and Miss Margaret Norton, an engraving by St. Memin, of Theodore Sedgwick, Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; and the dress (court) sword and hat of Theodore Sedgwick (1811–1859) when Secretary of Legation in France, 1833–1835, Edward Livingston being the Minister.

From George Simpson Eddy, photographs of Franklin portraits by Anne-Rosalie Filleul (née Bocquet) about the year 1778; by Duplessis in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and another, 1783, in the New York Public Library; by Joseph Wright, 1782, in the Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington, D. C., and of a marble bust of Franklin by Houdon, 1778, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

From the Concord Art Association, a bronze copy of its Medal of Honor.

From John H. Edmonds, daguerreotypes of Mary Louise Shaw (1844–1874) daughter of Robert Gould Shaw (1815–1853); and Florence Lyman, taken about 1855.

From Mr. Norcross, a piece of the Washington Elm, Cambridge, some coins and badges.

From Miss McKenna, of Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, a gold Phi Beta Kappa key, Harvard Chapter, 1878.

From the Town of Grafton, its service medal in the World War.

From Miss Elizabeth W. Burnap, of Baltimore, an engraved portrait of Gov. John Brooks, her great uncle; and a photograph of his grandson, George Hill Stuart, late Queen's Counsel of Quebec.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Henry Perceval Biggar, of Toronto, accepting corresponding membership.

Mr. FORD called attention to the portrait bust of our Honorary Member, Henri Pirenne, on the Belgian Medal given at the May meeting.

Clarence Saunders Brigham, of Worcester, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Dr. ROBERT M. LAWRENCE read a paper on "Train Bands, and early Military Training in Massachusetts."

Mr. WOLKINS read a paper on "Was Daniel Malcom's Resistance justified?" — to be printed in the next volume of *Proceedings*.

Mr. WINSLOW WARREN told of a recent visit to Jefferson's house at Monticello, Virginia.

DR. SHATTUCK read the following letter of

GEORGE C. SHATTUCK TO GEORGE C. SHATTUCK, JR.

BOSTON, July 18, 1852.

MY SON, — After 9 o'c[lock] last evening I was called to Brighton. When I arrived Miss Whitney had been dead some half hour. Her youngest sister, Frances who was at the Ursuline convent at Charlestown when it was burnt, was inconsolable. She exclaimed, "Would that I could have died for her!"

The ranks of the city have been thinned off by the heat.

A heated atmosphere does not interrupt the labors of the apostles of charity. Yesterday I was waited on for the payment of Fifty Dollars (subscription) for Brackett's group.

Deacon Grant urged a modest request that I would pay one thousand dollars toward the fund for the support of aged indigent females. The glorious opportunity of course I let pass unimproved. I told the Deacon I could not afford to keep such high company.

The same day I was addressed by a champion of the universal brotherhood of man in behalf of the thirty thousand Africans fled from the United States to Canada, for liberty, who were represented in a suffering condition. I enquired of the PHILANTHROPIST if they were incapable of taking care of themselves. This Missionary hails from Detroit. Another glorious opportunity for wholesale operation I was constrained to forego! ! ! My Son, the apostles of charity, DEAR SOULS, would fleece us, if we would but hearken to them, and then hold us up to scorn for our simplicity and folly. By the bye this reminds me of the Rev'd Dr. Walker's sermon from the text "thou shalt say NO!" Should you and I become case hardened, it may enable us to hold on to the soft side of our hearts for our own dear little ones.

12 o'c[lock] M. Our church this morning was thinly attended. Mr. Bartol and family were absent.

To Nancy and children my love, to Mr. and Mrs. and Miss B. my best compliments.

Tell George I wish he would learn to read and speak with distinctness, elegance and force. I beg you to cultivate in him the spoken mother tongue. His mother perhaps can best do that, as she has a good enunciation. The English language as a spoken language is sadly neglected. Frederick has a good voice. Tell him if he will learn to spell I will kiss him and love him dearly. As it respects Eleanor she will do well; still I beg you to teach her English Grammar. It will compel her to think, especially if you will teach her Paradise Lost as Mr. Pierce taught you when you went to the Bowdoin School on Derne Street. As ever.

Your father.

P. S. The Gasmen have done their job in your houses.

[Endorsed,] Geo. C. Shattuck, Jr., M. D. Millville, Concord, N. H.

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